

Volume XIII

APRIL, 1914

Number 2

The
South Atlantic Quarterly

The Segregation of the White and Negro Races
in Rural Communities of North Carolina

GILBERT T. STEPHENSON

Author of "Race Distinctions in American Law."

Mr. Clarence Poe, editor of the *Progressive Farmer*, has lately been advocating the enactment of a statute by the General Assembly of North Carolina providing that, wherever the greater part of the land acreage in any given district is owned by one race, a majority of the voters in such a district may say that in the future no land shall be sold to a person of a different race, provided such action is approved or allowed by a reviewing judge or board of county commissioners.

The statute that Mr. Poe suggests would not impose segregation upon any district but, like the Virginia city segregation statute, would simply enable any given district so desiring to promote the segregation of the races. Nor would action by any district under this enabling statute necessarily mean actual segregation. Suppose, for instance, a given district should vote that no additional land should be sold to negroes. The negro land owners in that community would be permitted to hold on to their property during their life and leave it to their heirs at death. The colored tenants could, in so far as the law provided, remain indefinitely on the land, and the white land owners might still rent their land to colored tenants. There is no intimation as to the size of the district, whether it would be the size of a local school tax district or of a township or of a county or of a larger area. This, presumably, would be left entirely with the voters.

Though the letter of the statute as suggested by Mr. Poe would apply equally to both races and would enable the colored people in any given district, if they so desired and if they had a majority of the votes and of the land acreage, to declare that no white person should buy any more land in that district,

still the avowed purpose of such a statute, according to Mr. Poe, would be to enable white farmers to keep negroes from buying land in a given district. Mr. Poe says, for instance, in a pamphlet which he has issued, "It may be argued, I know, that such a law is unjust because, with the government of the South as it is, it could be utilized by white people to keep their communities white, but the negroes would rarely or never be able to use it to make a community wholly negro. All of which I admit, and yet I believe it is just." Again, explaining his proposed statute in the columns of the *News and Observer*, Mr. Poe said, "I am simply saying that, where they desire it, our small white farmers of the South should have the right to live and build worthy homes for themselves and their children and children's children, with the assurance that the community will remain predominantly white. * * * * And if this matter can be constitutionally settled by law by leaving its application to voters (which means in white hands) it will be better than if left to private agreement." In the article from which the above quotation was taken, Mr. Poe advances seven reasons for segregation, in every one of which he is considering what will be to the advantage of the white people and in only one of which does he consider the interests of the colored people at all, that one involving the moral conditions in the relations of the races.

The legal and constitutional issues involved in segregation are not to be considered in this article. The constitutionality of the Winston-Salem and Greensboro ordinances will probably be determined by the Supreme Court of North Carolina in the case of State against Darnell by the time this article reaches the public. It must be said, however, that in leaving it to given districts to decide whether or not they will have segregation and in leaving it to a board of county commissioners to say whether or not segregation in a given district is advisable, the statute would give rise to constitutional questions that do not appear in the ordinances of Winston-Salem and Greensboro. If rural segregation after the plan suggested is right in principle, then it will be possible to frame a statute that will conform to constitutional limitations. If, on the other hand, it is not right in principle, then the fact that a statute can be drawn to satisfy the constitution

would not justify its adoption. In other words, the more important question about a segregation statute is not whether it is constitutional but whether it is just.

If in the matter of segregation one had only to consider the industrial and social welfare of the white farmers, then one set of issues would arise. But segregation has a moral aspect as well as an industrial and social aspect, and the welfare of the colored people as well as of the white has to be considered, which considerably modifies these issues. If segregation cannot be justified as being morally right and for the best interests of both races, then it cannot be justified as being sound, in the long run, either in its economic or in its social aspects. Bishop Kilgo, addressing a graduating class at Trinity, said, "The race question is a moral question, it is the question of the right of a human being to rise from the lower points of life to the higher levels of it * * * This race issue will test the moral quality of this nation, and, if it finds no settlement, the failure will be a moral failure, and show the point at which our civilization broke down for the lack of moral strength."

If the race question is a moral question, then the white people of North Carolina cannot afford to adopt a policy of neglect or of *laissez faire* towards the negro. The distinctive teaching of Jesus in the parable of the Good Samaritan is that opportunity to help and need of help create an obligation to help even where different races are involved. There is no doubt that the negro of the South, with his lower economic and ethical standards, is in need of help from every source. Nor is there any more doubt that the white people of the South, with their higher standards and with their accumulated wealth of things, of ideas, and of ideals through the long ages of civilization, have an opportunity to help the negroes who live in their midst. This conjunction of opportunity to help and of need of help creates an obligation upon the white people of North Carolina towards the colored people which cannot be ignored—*noblesse oblige*.

Governor Aycock once said,¹ "We hold our title to power by tenure of service to God, and if we fail to administer equal and exact justice to the negro whom we deprive of suffrage, we shall in the fullness of time lose power ourselves, for we must

¹ The Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock, p. 243.

know that the God who is Love trusts no people with authority for the purpose of enabling them to do injustice to the weak."

A policy of repression would make the negro a very dangerous element in the life of the South. On this point, Dr. Edgar Gardner Murphy said,² "A thwarted and perverted capacity is a peril both to the individual and to the state. Repression is not a remedy for anything. The repression of the capacities of our greatest negro would have made him the most dangerous factor in Southern life. Such capacities may be seldom found. Where, however, these capacities exist, there is neither joy nor safety nor right nor common sense in the belittling of a thing which God has given, or in the attempted destruction of a power which has entered into the experience of the world as one of the nobler assets of the nation and of humanity."

Roscoe Conkling Bruce, speaking to the Grand Army of the Republic in Sanders Theatre of Harvard University on Memorial Day, 1906, said, "Remember, gentlemen, a rose cannot bloom under a mill-stone, but a cactus can." The finer qualities of the negro race—sympathy, the spirit of co-operation, fidelity, loyalty—cannot thrive under a policy of repression adopted by the white people; but the ignoble qualities—envy, selfishness, treachery—thrive best in just such an atmosphere.

It is not intended here to imply that those who favor rural segregation would consciously adopt a policy either of neglect or of repression towards the negroes of the South. But if the ultimate effect of segregation would be to cause the white people to neglect or to repress the colored people, then the harmful results as indicated by Governor Aycock, Dr. Edgar Gardner Murphy, and Roscoe Conkling Bruce would inevitably follow.

Inasmuch as rural segregation by legislation has never been undertaken in this country or in any other country whose race relations are parallel with ours, we cannot be guided by precedents. And one arguing either for or against segregation cannot cite the experience of other communities.

If the next General Assembly were to enact an enabling statute and then some community in North Carolina were to take action under it, one of two things would happen as regards the negroes already on the land. As land owners or as tenants, they would either live on there as heretofore or else they would

² *The Present South*, p. 60.

move into some other community. The latter course is what the advocates of segregation would expect the negroes to adopt. Mr. Poe, for instance, says, "What would happen very surely, however, would be this: once a neighborhood has said, 'We want this to be a white community, and no more land here shall be sold to a negro,' it would be easy to bring pressure to bear upon landlords, even absentee landlords, to get a better class of tenants. If the people took enough interest in the matter to say to a landlord, 'We are trying to make a white community, and here is a chance for you to put in a white tenant,' he would be mighty likely to listen to them. Moreover, these communities would attract white settlers to them in increasing numbers. Wouldn't people from other sections begin to say, 'I want to get into a permanently white community, with its better white social life, better white schools and churches, and better chances for a co-operation'—and wouldn't white people soon be willing to offer so fair a price for the absentee landlord's land that he could better afford to sell it rather than to continue renting it to shiftless, soil-destroying tenants? In this way we should expect the white communities to become steadily whiter and gradually solve even the problem of the negro renter."

If the removal of the negroes from the segregation district would mean the coming of desirable white settlers, then the industrial advantages claimed would, no doubt, follow. But it is very doubtful if even the removal of the negro altogether from the South would attract an appreciable number of desirable white settlers. The immigration statistics show that the majority of our immigrants now are not such as would be absorbed into the white life of the South. The immigrants actually coming are more illiterate and, in many cases, as superstitious as the negroes themselves. Would such immigrants, whom we do not need, or better ones, whom we do need, be willing to move into a community that had by legislation said that one element of its population could not buy or own land except under certain conditions? Would they not reason thus: "If the white people of North Carolina thus prohibited negroes from owning land in given communities, how do we know but that, in the course of time, should we become economic rivals of the native white stock, they will not undertake by legislation

to segregate us, too?" The opinion has been expressed by thoughtful men that race legislation in the South and the agitation incident thereto have done more to keep immigrants out than has the presence of the negro. If segregation should mean the withdrawal of all negroes from white communities and if this new departure in race legislation should still further dissuade immigrants from coming to the South, then industrial conditions would be all the more complicated by segregation.

But suppose segregation did not result in the negro's withdrawal from the white community. Suppose the negro land owner determined to live the balance of his days on his land and then hand it down to his children and the negro tenant gave up any idea he might have had of acquiring land of his own. Such an action on the part of the resident negroes in the white community would absolutely frustrate the efforts of the white people to obtain the benefits argued for segregation. The social life of the white people would not be more satisfactory. The co-operative efforts would still be handicapped. Every harm that the presence of the negro in the community now causes would be augmented then because the negro tenant, with all incentive to accumulate property taken away from him, would become more thriftless and trifling than ever.

The effect of segregation upon the moral life of the white people would be different according as the negro withdrew from the community or, accepting with resignation the conditions imposed upon him, remained in the community. If the negro left, then the white people would suffer from the weakening of moral fibre which always accompanies the shirking of a moral obligation. If the negro stayed on the land, then the same moral problems unchanged would be encountered. There would still be the bad colored man and the bad colored woman as an incubus to the moral welfare of the community.

One may grant that segregation would be both to the industrial and to the moral advantage of the white farmer without admitting that segregation is wise or expedient. Unless the advantages to the white people equal or overbalance the disadvantages to the colored people, then segregation is a shortsighted policy. The colored tenant who remained in the segregation districts would probably become less trustworthy than ever because he would realize that he was a discredited ele-

ment in the community and there would be no inducement to him to raise his station in life. If, on the other hand, the negroes did leave the white community and go off into a district by themselves, from an industrial standpoint they would suffer severely. The negro still sorely needs the example and advice of the white man. This fact is recognized by the negro leaders, one of whom has said that it will take a hundred years for the negro to stand alone. Two communities in the eastern part of North Carolina within thirty miles of each other show the need that the negro has of the advice and example of the white man. In one of these communities there are no large plantations. The negroes have bought small farms alongside the white people and have followed the example of their white neighbors. The result is that the negroes in that community are thrifty, prosperous, and are taking a pride in their farms. In the other community the land is owned by a few white men. The negroes have made practically no advancement from the condition in which they were during slavery. They live from hand to mouth the year round and are satisfied if they "come out" at the end of the year. A more shiftless and thriftless lot could hardly be found. This is what would probably follow if the negroes were urged at this time by legislation to settle in communities to themselves. They are not yet ready to stand alone. It must be remembered at all times that these black districts would be parts of the state the same as the white districts, and that the increased productiveness of the white community might be off-set by the diminished productiveness of the colored community and the state, as a whole, might be no better off.

The moral life of the negro would suffer more from segregation than his industrial life. Booker T. Washington says,⁸ "I have found, as a rule, that the negro in any community is very much what the white man is. If you find in any community a class of intelligent, high-toned, law-abiding white people, there you will find the negro in some degree trying to follow the example of the white man. If, on the other hand, in any community you find the white man a drunkard, a gambler, carrying pistols, breaking the law, there you will find a larger element of the negroes trying to imitate the white

⁸ The *Tuskegee Student*, February 22, 1913.

race in these respects." Mr. D. Hiden Ramsey, of this state, who has made a special study of criminality among the negroes, says, "It cannot be denied that the increased criminality of the negro is due in a large measure to the increased estrangement of the two races." Every one of the negro leaders is advising his race to remain on the land and to escape the demoralizing effect of herding in cities. The segregation of the races in the country would, in the first place, probably cause still more of the negroes, smarting under the discrimination of segregation, to move to the city. In the second place, the creation of colored districts in the country would give rise to centers of negro vice similar to those which now exist in the city.

The effect of segregation by legislation upon the relations between the races would probably be more portentous than that upon the industrial or moral life of either race. Race prejudice would certainly be aroused by the agitation that would be necessary to get an enabling act passed by our General Assembly. The larger landholders of the state, who deserve some consideration even if not as much as the more numerous class of small farmers, would oppose it on the ground that it would interfere with their labor supply. Other white people would oppose it because they would believe it morally wrong in that it would not be giving the negro a square deal. The whole country outside of the South would side with the negro and put the state in the light of having disfranchised the negro in order to perpetrate discriminations against him.

A different sort of race feeling would be aroused by rural segregation agitation than by any previous legislation. Heretofore race legislation has been statewide. Witness the suffrage amendment, the separate school and Jim Crow laws. But in the case of segregation each community would have to take action for itself. The white farmers of a neighborhood would decide that they would not let any more colored farmers buy land in that neighborhood. Thus the white people and negroes who had been living side by side in amicable relations all their lives would find themselves arrayed in opposing camps. The most bitter feeling in the world is that of one individual against another individual. The next most bitter feeling is that of one family against another, as shown by the Kentucky feuds that last for generations. And the next in the order of intensity is

a neighborhood hostility. So long as the white people as a race have their feelings aroused against the colored people as a race, this impersonal hostility is not apt to cause any combustion. But when the white people and the colored people of any single neighborhood are arrayed on opposite sides in a race issue, then a consuming flame of race feeling is apt to start. The truth of this is shown by every race riot and every instance of mob violence in the history of the country. It has started by some individual or some group of individuals doing something to displease the other race. Because segregation would, in the end, be a neighborhood affair, race feeling would be all the more bitter. If segregation meant that the negroes were to be taken bodily out of the community and carried to a place where they would never be heard of any more, the race feeling might be tolerable. But under the suggested plan, the negroes would simply be urged to congregate in a community to themselves lying alongside the white community where the passions of the criminal and vicious element of both races would be fed by the sight of each other.

It is a very serious thing to arouse the spirit of hatred and revenge in any person. It is also serious to arouse it in a race. Before we risk increasing the race prejudice and arousing the worst passions of both races by a segregation campaign, let us count the cost and make sure that the benefits of segregation will outweigh the harm that will result from arousing race prejudices.

It must be clear to the impartial observer that this plan of segregation involves a policy of repression of the negro in that it is withholding from him an equal showing in the distribution of the land of the state. If the white people are to select the segregation districts, then they will naturally select for themselves the most desirable districts and leave the negro to take the balance. This is exactly what has been done in Roanoke, Va. That city was divided into five segregation districts. Four of those districts were definitely laid off and described by metes and bounds and set apart for the white people. The fifth district, which comprised all the balance of the city that the white people did not want for themselves, was set apart for the negroes.

The segregation advocated also involves the policy of neglect.

When the negroes are congregated into colored districts the white people are not going to give them the benefit of their example and advice. It is an attempt to create, as has been said, a nation within a nation.

As the negroes accumulate property and show an inclination to develop a community life of their own, they ought to be encouraged. The experience of the negroes at Mound Bayou, Mississippi, shows that they may reach a stage in their development when they are sufficient unto themselves. Mr. W. D. Weatherford in his latest book, *Present Forces in Negro Progress*, says that two of the present forces in the progress of the negro are the development of race leadership and the creation of race pride. The white people must help to lift the negro from the lower levels of life to the higher levels, "not that he may go into the society of other races, but that he may be fit to associate with himself." "The true and permanent way to lead the negro race to keep wisely to itself is to make it sufficient within itself. The race which is to be forever forced to go outside of itself to touch the broadest and richest life of its generation will never be consciously and finally anchored in the doctrine of race integrity. The true basis of race individuality is not in race segregation, not in race repression, but in race sufficiency."⁴ A child ought to be taken out of the go-cart as soon as it is strong enough to stand alone. But it is heartless for the adult and dangerous for the child to take it out before then. The negro race ought to be encouraged to develop its own leadership and to increase in self-sufficiency; and voluntary segregation is to be encouraged on this account. But it is dangerous for the race to be left to itself until it knows how to develop the right sort of leaders and appreciate the right sort of race pride. Because I do not believe that the race has yet reached the stage in its development where it can stand alone, I am opposed to the segregation of the races in the country by legislation.

This is probably the most delicate race issue that has arisen since Emancipation because it involves fundamental rights. Voting, for instance, is a privilege; but the right to hold property is inherent in citizenship and should not be tampered with without great caution.

⁴ *The Present South*, p. 64.

I am heartily in favor of the next General Assembly's creating a commission to investigate rural race problems. Such a commission would probably have been created by the last legislature if the bodies urging its creation had not already unanimously committed themselves to the policy of segregation. In other words, they announced their conclusion before they had waited for an investigation. An impartial investigation may show that the white people are not leaving their farms because of the presence of the negro or that segregation is not the best way of reducing race relations to a proper and permanent basis. Let us, therefore, have a complete and accurate diagnosis before we prescribe such a drastic remedy as rural segregation by legislation.

The Use of Credit by the North Carolina Farmers

CHARLES LEE RAPER

Professor of Economics in the University of North Carolina

The farmer, or any other man who buys and sells products or services, has vital need for the cheapest money and credit that are possible within the limits of safety. His money must be a sufficiently accurate standard of the measure of his valuables; and of such a form and size to enable him to exchange it for commodities of all qualities and quantities. It must be sufficiently stable in its value to cause both the creditor and the debtor to feel full confidence that all their credit transactions rest upon a foundation that is solid. It should be used as many times in a year as possible, so as to make its expense the minimum. It will be fortunate for all when many more of us recognize the truth that money brings returns by the number and frequency of its services—never by mere hoarding. The farmers' credit institutions—his banks and other deposit or loan agencies—should be so effectively and economically located and managed as to make it practically impossible for them to fail to meet his demands for as excellent and as cheap a service as possible. Money stimulates and creates trades; it makes them more economical. Credit—the power and the opportunity to borrow the use of another's goods or capital—promotes trades to a still greater degree.

Does the North Carolina farmer have as effective and cheap money and credit as his own prosperity and that of those who consume his products demand? Does he cause his money to perform the greatest possible number of services in a year? Can he borrow money, credit, or goods at a rate sufficiently low and for a time sufficiently long for him to make his crop or improve his soil, buildings, machinery, or stock, in the most effective manner? Does the fact that we have in the United States approximately three and a half billion dollars of reasonably sound and efficient money, a large part of which is ready for constant use, necessarily make the farmer of North Carolina able to obtain as much as he needs, just when he needs it?

Does the fact that we have more than 29,000 banks and as much as twenty-five billion of banking resources really enable the North Carolina farmer to borrow from these as much as he needs, at rates small enough to be attractive to him?

In order to answer these most vital questions in a reasonably satisfactory manner, the Rural Organization Service of the United States Department of Agriculture has made an investigation in a large number of the North Carolina counties. While this examination has not covered every county in the state, it has covered a sufficient number in every section to make its findings fairly representative of the real conditions prevailing throughout the commonwealth. The larger part of this investigation has been made in the field by Professor William R. Camp, of the North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, and by myself. The facts as to the credit conditions of the North Carolina farmers, and farmers of other states, many of which were obtained in confidence, have been tabulated and studied at Washington. A digest of them is now public for the use of the national government and that of the states. It is not at all my purpose, in this paper, to give the details of these facts. Nor could I with fairness mention by name any of the institutions or individuals with whom these facts have the most vital relationship. It is my desire to give only my own personal impressions—those impressions that have driven them selves into my mind and heart as I have carried on investigations in the field, or as I have made a study of the facts and estimates obtained by the other men who have worked directly or indirectly for the Rural Organization Service.

Our investigation quickly confirmed the notion that the merchant plays a large part in the credit of the farmer. The merchant has been, in fact, from the beginning of life in North Carolina, one of the farmer's chief credit agencies. This is as true today as it has been in the past, though the relative amount of time purchases as compared with cash purchases made by farmers has had during the past decade a considerable change. Just what part of the purchases are time and what cash, it is impossible for me to state with exactness; it can only be estimated. The estimates made by bankers and others who possess more or less accurate information cover a very wide range. In the counties of the northeastern section of the state

the range of the time purchases is from 95 to 20 per cent of the total purchases made by the landowning and landless farmers. A fair average may be, I think, approximately 60 per cent. In the counties from the middle part of the state to Buncombe and along the North Carolina-South Carolina border, the range is from 80 to 25 per cent. with a possible average of 45 to 50 per cent. The larger percentage of time purchases prevailing in the northeastern counties is, perhaps, due to the greater proportion of tenant farmers, many of whom are negroes, as compared with landlord farmers. These averages may be too large, but when a big share has been taken away from them the fact still remains that a very important percentage of the purchases of food, feed, stock, implements, or fertilizers, which the farmer must have, is bought on time.

The tenant farmer, of all classes, is the largest user of this form of credit. He possesses no land and very little other property, which can be used as security for loans from banks; and his personal note has, almost without exception, no power at a bank. He may at times secure from his landlord an endorsement of his note and upon it be able to borrow a small amount from the bank. This is, however, the case in the fewest instances. Our investigation proves, with the greatest clearness, that the tenant farmer of North Carolina—and as many as 42 percent of the farms are operated not by the landlord but by the tenant, a class of people deserving the best consideration that our minds and hearts have to give—had practically no power at any of the banks of the present type. And I see no possibility of his possessing this power in the future, unless he can co-operate more closely with his landlord and thereby secure his endorsement to a greater degree—perhaps a very remote possibility.

The small landlords are also, as a rule, slight users of bank credit and, consequently, large users of store credit. Their failure to make use of bank credit or their incapacity to obtain it are, I believe, due in part to their lack of business knowledge or to their disposition to keep aloof from their neighbor in matters of business. Many of them do not really know the exact difference between their time prices and their cash prices at the store. So slight is their knowledge of the mercantile business, that they are oftentimes unaware that they are buy-

ing credit from the store at from 12 to 20 per cent a year, while they might obtain it from a bank at from 6 to 8 per cent. Their suspicion of a bank and of their neighbors, whatever may be its cause, is another reason for their failure to borrow credit at a bank. Any movement that can persuade the average small farmer of North Carolina that his real prosperity is tied up closely with that of his neighbor, that they should always co-operate with each other in borrowing the use of credit, in marketing many of their products, etc., would bring the greatest possible benefit not alone to the farmer but to every one who lives in North Carolina. Many a small farmer does not obtain his credit from a bank simply because he will not secure the signature of his neighbor to his note.

A large ratio of time purchases to cash purchases made by the farmer is, however, in itself not a disadvantageous thing for him or for his community. It depends fundamentally upon the difference between the time prices which he actually pays and the cash prices at which he might buy all of his supplies. This point was, of course, a vital one in our investigation, though it could not be reduced, in a manner that would gratify the heart of the mathematician, to a very exact statement of fact. Here, too, we could only obtain as many estimates as possible from the people most intimately concerned. The estimates of the greater size of time prices as compared with cash prices paid by farmers and tenants cover the wide range of from 3 to 33 per cent, depending upon the nature of the commodity bought, the general reputation of the purchaser, the volume of his business with one store, and the location. An average of 12 per cent is, I am convinced, not too high; and this is for a period of from six to eight months. When the North Carolina farmers come to the understanding that this is buying credit at a rate of approximately 20 per cent. a year, they will put forth greater effort to buy it from a bank at a very much smaller rate. Such a rate for the use of another's goods is almost as large as that charged by the famous Jewish money shark of the middle ages, while the risks of today are insignificant as compared to his. The farmers, notably the tenants, who have poor reputations for paying their credit obligations are practically unable to buy until they have made a contract, of some form or other, whereby they transfer to the merchant

practically all of their legal right to their chattels, crops, stock, if not indeed their babies, until their debts are paid; and it not infrequently happens that their debts possess a remarkable capacity to live after burial.

But what are the relationships of the North Carolina farmer to the banks? As I have said, the tenant farmer has practically no standing as a borrower at the banks, and deposits from him are most rare. The small farmer as a class has comparatively little power to borrow from a bank, and his deposits are primarily made, not as the result of a loan from the bank but to obtain the small savings interest—four per cent. The larger farmers are, on the other hand, important depositors, borrowers, and even shareholders.

Our investigation revealed the fact that the holdings of bank stock by farmers are very considerable in most of the small towns of the state. In a few of the larger towns, they hold practically none of the stock; in the others, they own from five per cent in some places to fifty per cent or more in other places. Since the capital stock of the great majority of the banks in the state is small, ranging from five to twenty-five thousand dollars, the farmers' ownership of bank shares does not give them as a class much banking power. The number of farmers who hold stock in any one county is insignificant as compared with the total number in that county.

As depositors in the banks, the North Carolina farmers are worthy of the bankers' best consideration. In a large number of the banks, the farmers' deposits make up an important percentage of the total deposits. Some of these deposits originate in the loans which the farmer obtains from the bank; he borrows from the bank and leaves the amount on deposit, to be checked out as he has need. Our investigation gave point to the unfortunate fact that the larger part of the loans made by banks to farmers is taken in cash—not left as a current deposit. Others of these deposits come from the desire of the farmer to obtain the four per cent. savings interest on his time deposits. The farmers who make such deposits, as a rule, are not borrowers from the banks. In many cases they rarely withdraw their interest accumulations or principal, unless the "Ford Machine" habit fixes itself upon them. Such depositors are more generally, I think, small farmers, who are for

the most part thrifty but unprogressive. A far more profitable thing for them to do would be for them to invest their small savings of a life time in the improvement of their soil, equipment, stock, etc.; from this form of investment they would, upon the whole, realize a much larger interest than four per cent.

Loans made to farmers are of two general classes—short time notes with personal endorsement and long time notes secured by mortgages on farms. From the very nature of the business carried on by the present type of our bank, it is the short time note, secured by the signature of its giver, oftentimes by that of one or two additional persons, which the banker prefers. It is much more readily convertible into cash—into something which enables him to meet the demand of his depositors. The larger share of the loans made by banks to farmers is of this class; and I feel sure the banker is sincere when he says that he would be glad to make the volume of such loans much larger than it now is, should the farmers ask for it and present the required personal security. Such loans are advantageous to the banks. Are they best for the farmer who borrows? The range of their duration, including renewals, is usually from five to nine months, with an average of perhaps six or seven months. This is a sufficient term when the proceeds of the loans are invested in making a crop or holding it for an advantageous market, but it is entirely too short for the purpose of buying land or improving it or its equipment. For these purposes, it is generally necessary for the farmer to offer as security for his note a mortgage on his farm and to ask for a long time loan.

Does the farmer obtain from the bank as much credit of this type as he needs or calls for? The national banks have not hitherto enjoyed the legal right to make such loans directly or in the first instance. The state banks and trust companies have the power to make such loans, and make them, though the relative amount of the mortgage loans as compared with the personal security loans depends very largely upon the policy of the officers of the bank—as to whether they prefer to invest their funds for longer or shorter periods. In a number of places the banks have a decided preference for the short time

loans—for a period of three, six, nine, or twelve months, with an average of actual time of perhaps six months—whether made to a farmer or to a business man. They consequently do only a slight business in farm mortgage loans. In other localities, the banks make from 60 to 80 per cent of the farm mortgage loans. The policy of short time or long time loans seems to have no sectional distinction. The banks in the northeastern section have practically the same policy and practice as those in the western and southern boundary sections. The size of the town has something to do with this, though here the distinction is not sharp. In the largest towns the bank funds are naturally much more largely invested in loans to industrial and business men than to farmers.

Whenever the farmer can borrow credit from a bank, he can usually do it to at least 50 per cent. of the estimated value of his farm—in some places and in some cases to 60 or 75 per cent. The bankers, almost without exception, declare that they would make such loans up to 50 or 60 per cent of the value of the farm, occasionally to 75 per cent, though in our examination of many hundred mortgage notes we found very few with a proportion of loan to value of farm above 60 per cent, in fact few above 50 per cent. But the farmers do not, I think, make complaint against such a proportion.

For what length of time can they borrow from banks on such mortgages. Can they borrow for a term sufficiently long to stimulate the greatest possible use of credit in the enlargement of the farm or in its improvement? Our investigation proves that in many instances they actually obtain the loans for a period of three to five years, in a few cases as long as eight to ten years. In most places they get the loan for only ten to twelve months, but it is more generally renewed to two, three, four, or five years. The renewal may, however, not be granted by the bank; it depends entirely upon the condition of the bank's funds and upon the general estimate its officers may put upon the borrower's disposition and condition. The average term of the great majority of farm mortgage loans obtained from the banks is—at least it may be—too short for the farmer to make the maximum use of them for the permanent enlargement or improvement of his farm. And loans for at least ten

years, in some cases for thirty or forty years, seem absolutely necessary for such improvements. The North Carolina farmers must, therefore, go to other lenders than the banks for the majority of their long time loans. They go to insurance companies, to individual capitalists, or to lawyers who act as agents of trust funds.

In the eastern counties of the state, and in the western, the farm mortgage loans made by insurance companies seem not to be very important. In the central, southern, and south-eastern counties, their business in such loans is very considerable, if not indeed large. One Greensboro company makes, in fact, a speciality of farm mortgage loans; and it carries a big volume of them, in nearly fifty counties of the state.

Individuals—local capitalists, merchants, or farmers—and lawyers acting as agents of funds do in practically all the places covered by our investigation an important business in farm mortgage loans. In the eastern counties they make, the estimates indicate, from 25 per cent to 75 per cent of all such loans, and from 25 to 60 per cent in the central, western, and southern border counties. A point of large significance is that this business is carried on under no state regulation. The banks and insurance companies are more or less effectively examined by special state officials; the individual lenders are never so examined. We have, to be sure, a general usury law, but it, like many other laws, has only the shadow of a real existence. A violation of it—and there are a good many such transgressions, in the main by individual lenders, not banks, every day in the week save the Sabbath—can be brought to trial only by that slow and most uncertain process of an indictment by a grand jury.

The cost of loans to farmers is, of course, a most vital point, so vital, in fact, that it practically determines the volume of the loans and their effects—the prosperity of the farmer and of the consumer of his products. When the cost is high, few loans are made, while the real conditions of agriculture may demand many. The public should, therefore, be deeply interested in how much it costs a farmer to borrow other people's capital or goods. The cost of farmers' credit at the store has already been given. The short time credit which the farmer

obtains from the bank upon personal endorsement sells, for the most part, at the prevailing bank rate—at 6 per cent most generally, occasionally as high as seven or eight per cent. That which he buys from individuals on the strength of personal endorsement sells at whatever price he is compelled to offer. It is upon the cost of long time or mortgage credit, that it is necessary to speak with some detail.

The cost of making an official record of the mortgage, and such record must be made, always falls upon the borrower. This item in the purchase price of mortgage credit is, however, only slight. The official charge for recording a farm mortgage ranges from \$1.00 to \$2.50, with an average of approximately \$1.50—an amount insignificant when the loan is fairly large. It is the charge made by the lawyer for examining and abstracting the farmer's title which constitutes a much larger item of expense. In practically all of the counties under investigation this item amounts to from \$5 to \$100—an average of perhaps about \$10. In a very few cases, where the title is remarkably clear and its description very brief, the fee is as small as \$2.50. The bank officials may not, of course, demand a new examination of the title in case they are lending to one of their regular customers; and in some cases they do not. Such practice is, however, the exception. An average cost for abstracting the title of \$10 per loan makes the rate important for small loans. Our investigation made it remarkably clear that a system of official description and registration of each piece of land, like the Torrens System or its modification, would be of great benefit to the North Carolina farmer as a borrower. When his land is so described, he can always show proof of his possession without delay or cost. And the banker would be pleased, whatever the lawyer who makes part of his income out of abstracting titles might say of it.

Not only must the farmer pay the cost of recording his mortgage and that of abstracting his title to his farm, but he must pay the current rate of interest on his loan. This is more generally six per cent when the loan is obtained from a bank; in some cases as much as seven or eight per cent. It may be at a higher rate when the loan is obtained from an insurance company or agent, from an individual, or from a lawyer, as an agent of funds. The insurance companies

charge, as far as we could discover, the legal rate, six per cent, but they make practically all their loans to those who purchase insurance from them. The loan very frequently is made solely upon the condition of the borrower becoming a policy holder, and the amount of the loan more generally has a definite ratio to the size of the policy bought. This is excellent business for the insurance company but it often causes the farmer to pay for his loan from one to three per cent above the legal rate. Individuals and lawyers acting as agents charge the legal rate and not infrequently a commission which makes the actual rate from one to four per cent—at times six per cent—higher.

The actual rates which the North Carolina farmers pay for their loans, especially their long time mortgage loans, have important variations—from six to twelve per cent; and these variations are due for the most part to the commission which is charged by the lender or the bonus which is offered by the farmer who is under pressing need of more capital. Banks do not resort to the use of the commission as a general rule. Trust companies, on the other hand, maintain a more general practice of charging a commission. Some of them collect one per cent yearly, in addition to the current rate of interest; others, one per cent for the first year of the loan and one-half of one per cent for each succeeding year. The insurance companies do not directly charge a commission upon their loans to farmers, but the insurance policy which they sell as a prerequisite to the loan in the great majority of cases brings indirectly a commission. It is the individual money lender, who, of all classes of sellers of credit, most systematically transgresses the usury law. He most frequently of all lenders charges, in addition to the legal rate, a commission, or accepts a bonus from the borrower in exchange for the accommodation in the form of a loan at the current rate. And his commission or bonus most frequently amounts to an important percentage of the size of the loan. He comes nearer being in the class of the famous Jewish shark of old than any other of our sellers of credit to farmers, save the merchant who charges a time price 20 per cent and more above his cash price.

How may such an unfortunate situation in farmers' credit be remedied? How may their prosperity be stimulated and

enlarged? It is not my purpose to give, in this paper, a specific plan of relief. That is a topic sufficiently big to demand the space of a separate paper; and, too, I prefer not to give at this time my own plan. Whatever plan the national government may finally decide upon, whatever the legislature of North Carolina may attempt to do, this situation in rural life will not, I am convinced, be greatly changed or improved unless the farmers themselves take the leading and vital part. Many of the farmers are in their present condition largely because of their own disposition or their lack of business knowledge and method. Some of them have not yet learned how to use the banks which they have near their doors; they keep their savings buried at home instead of in the care of a bank, from which they could be loaned to the profit of their owner, the bank, and its borrowers. Some of them, who never buy credit from a bank, could easily do so by combining their personal endorsement upon a promissory note. Until the farmers themselves come to know their own credit problems, until they are willing to have a confidence in each other that is strong enough to cause them to endorse each other's notes, until they are ready to join into a co-operation among themselves that will tie them together more closely in their responsibilities as well as in their opportunities, any plan of relief which the nation or the state may see fit to provide will, in my judgment, fail to make a vital change in the present ineffective condition of rural life in North Carolina.

I do not, by any means, deny the need of governmental action in the matter of farmers' credit. Our investigation has made clear the necessity for a change in our banking system—either an important modification of the present bank, or the creation of a type designed distinctively for farmers. The North Carolina farmer as a class is today an ineffective user of credit. This is in part due to his own fault and in part due to the lack of a banking facility which his own peculiar business demands.

Vital Statistics in North Carolina

MABEL PARKER MASSEY
Deputy State Registrar of Vital Statistics

The rapid development of sentiment in favor of birth and death registration in the southern states has been watched with interest by the statisticians of the country. The first practical vital statistics law in the South, says Dr. Cressy L. Wilbur, was that passed by the General Assembly of North Carolina in 1909. This law, providing for the registration of all deaths in towns of one thousand or more inhabitants, was not the first effort made in this state to collect vital statistics. A search of the records would reveal statutes on the subject dating from colonial days, and there seems to have never been a time when the state was without a statute bearing on vital statistics. Recently there has been a new interest in the subject. In less than five years Virginia, North Carolina, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and Tennessee have all adopted registration laws, and bills are now pending before the legislatures of South Carolina and Georgia. The stigma of lack of vital statistics will soon be removed from the South.

The law of 1909, which required a death certificate to be filed by the undertaker within three days of the date of death, and allowed no interments without a burial permit, secured in this state the first records of deaths of real value. This law, applicable to a limited area, embraced about one-sixth of the population of the state. The General Assembly of 1911 increased the area covered by the statute to include all towns of five hundred or more population.

The General Assembly of 1913 enacted a law which required not only the registration of all deaths but also of all births that occurred in the entire state. This law went into effect July 1st. The "Model Law," patterned in main after the Pennsylvania law, and endorsed by the Census Department of the United States Government, the Section on Hygiene and Sanitary Science and the House of Delegates of the American Medical Association, the American Public Health Association, the American Statistical Association, the Committee on Uni-

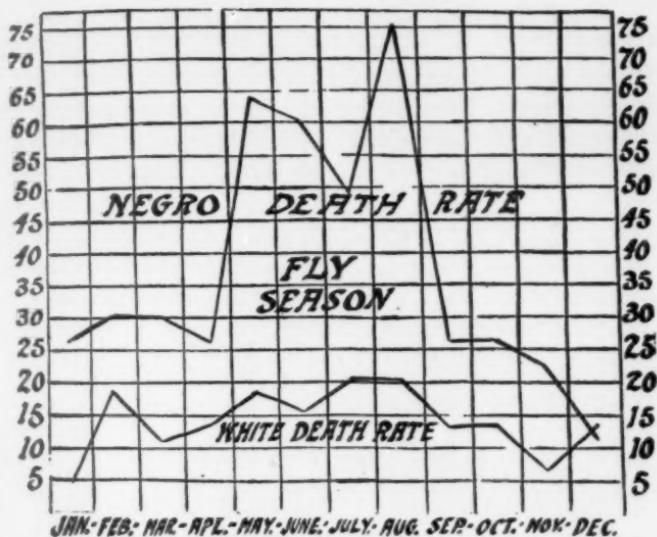
form Laws of the American Bar Association, the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality, and the general offices of the American Federation of Labor, was adopted. Under this law every incorporated town and every township comprises a registration district, making fourteen hundred and seventy-three districts in the state. The registrar in a township is appointed by the chairman of the board of county commissioners, and in the towns by the mayor of the town.

That a law requiring the registration of all births and deaths is primarily a health measure is well established by the fact that in the majority of the states the enforcement of the vital statistics law is entrusted to the State Board of Health. Without vital statistics the health officer is handicapped, for, as the Secretary of the North Carolina State Board of Health has said:

"Real public health work can be recognized only by its effect in reducing a high death rate, a death rate over 16 per thousand, or in maintaining a low death rate, a death rate under 15 per thousand. Health work that does not have the above effect on death rates is of questionable value. A health officer is one who reduces high death rates or maintains low death rates. It is not the course that one pursues, the road one travels to a department of health, nor which of the various methods used in sanitary work he adopts that makes a real health officer; a health officer in deed as well as in name, has but just *one* quality, to-wit, ability to favorably influence death rates. Public health work either favorably influences death rates or all this talk and agitation about public health is an empty dream. We *believe* in the glorious, unlimited, and undreamed of possibilities of public health work, and are willing that our faith shall be tested by our works."

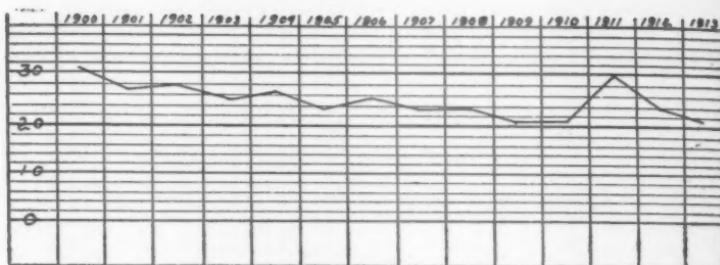
With a law requiring the collection of vital statistics the State Board of Health stands committed to a policy of reducing death rates or acknowledging its failure to do effective work.

The method used by the health officer in investigating high death rates, when he has reliable records at his command, is well illustrated by Chart 1.



The crude death rate in the town studied was 22.8 while the average for the United States is 15 per thousand. The death rate by races showed 16 for the white (a little more than normal) but 37 per thousand for the colored race. Bearing these figures in mind Chart I, showing seasonal variations, was made. This told the story, as it showed an exceedingly high death rate among the colored race during the fly season. This information taken in conjunction with a high typhoid and diarrhoeal death rate revealed to the health officer the exact spot at which to direct his efforts, thereby saving time, money and lives. Another illustration:

A certain city a few years ago had an epidemic of typhoid fever. When the epidemic was at its height a health officer was employed to put into effect rules and regulations bearing on the health conditions of that town. At the end of two years the health officer called attention to the great reduction in the death rate of the town. Chart II was drawn and a close study of the crude death rates based on accurate records kept for fourteen years showed the death rate had been reduced only to the normal rate of that town prior to the epidemic.



The law requiring the registration of all births and deaths in North Carolina will not only help the health officer in his work but the lawyer, the underwriter, in fact men engaged in every phase of business will soon appreciate the benefits derived from accurate birth and death returns. To quote Dr. Hurty:

"Besides the general importance of vital statistics to a nation as a nation, they also have an importance of the greatest moment to the individual. For instance, by vital statistics must be determined the right to attend school, to enter certain occupations, to vote, to marry, to hold or to dispose of property, to employment by the state or country in military or civil service; responsibility for crime or misdemeanor; exemption from military or jury duty; qualifications or disqualifications for certain public offices; and privileges and immunities of a public nature; also private contracts in great variety, as in insurance and partnership. Indeed, there is hardly a relation from the cradle to the grave in which the evidence furnished by accurate vital statistics may not prove of the greatest individual and general, social or governmental value. The two great important events in the lives of men are birth and death; the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end. For a state not to make these events of accurate record for each individual is to neglect to keep abreast of practical civilization; yes, to be really civilized."

Is it not worth while to secure to every child in North Carolina a record of its birth, since a record may be urgently needed in the future, "not only for what may be called the sentimental purposes of establishing his family descent, but as evidence in court for the proof of claims to inheritance, for proof of age and the like?"

Has the reader ever desired to know those of whose lives he is a part and found this knowledge unobtainable? If so you will be able to appreciate the value of accurate records. In Kentucky they speak of the State Registrar's office as the

"State's Family Bible." North Carolina is to have just such a Family Bible. Records can be made under the statute in this Family Bible of births and deaths that occurred before the enactment of the statute, and the law provides for the preservation in fire-proof vaults of all records entrusted to the care of the State Registrar.

We of the South desire immigration of the highest type, but enlightened persons always inquire regarding health and sanitary conditions. When such questions are directed to the United States Bureau of the Census, they can only say there are no reliable data. The natural question then is, "Is disease so prevalent that they are afraid to record their deaths?" Undoubtedly there is a prejudice regarding the healthfulness of the South, and such a prejudice can only be dissipated by accurate mortality records. The representative of the Baron Hirsch fund of millions of dollars called on the State Health Officer in Raleigh not long since for accurate information regarding the health of certain sections of the state, with a view to planting desirable colonies, each of which would have represented an investment of \$1,000,000.00, but the information he desired was not obtainable. Last week the representative of one of the leading life insurance companies called on the State Registrar for information regarding health conditions in five eastern counties, as they wished to extend their business so as to embrace that area. The information could not be supplied.

Such instances as these will soon cease. The first month's returns under the new law showed a registration of more than two-thirds of the normal rate, and the State Registrar confidently expects the returns for the year to reach ninety per cent of the average rate in the United States. Such a death rate would admit North Carolina to the registration area of the United States, which means recognition by the registration offices of the leading countries of the civilized world.

New Greek Literature

CHARLES W. PEPPLER
Professor of Greek in Trinity College

The last decade of the past century and the first of this one were so rich in the discovery of papyrus manuscripts containing hitherto unknown portions of Greek literature that our histories of the literature must be revised or rewritten every few years. Christ's *History of Greek Literature* has now reached its sixth edition. The prolific source of these new finds is Egypt, where for two thousand years they have lain buried either in the rubbish-mounds of her ancient cities or in the cartonnage of mummy-cases or within the coffin by the side of the dead to serve for his delectation in the other world. Here in their various hiding-places they have been preserved from disintegration and decay through the remarkable dryness of Egypt's almost rainless climate. The dates at which the different papyri were written extend from the middle of the fourth century before Christ down to the fourth century of our era, the time when papyrus gave way to parchment as the usual writing material for literature. One of them comes from the age of Demosthenes and Aristotle, and therefore shows us how books were written as far back as the end of the classic period. The value of these new discoveries is not only the intrinsic worth of the literature of a highly talented people; they also reveal to us in some cases new literary types, like the pæan and the nome, that before were virtually unknown.

Six orations of Hyperides more or less complete came to light in Egypt between 1847 and 1890. Before their discovery Hyperides was merely a name; of his fifty-two speeches only a few short fragments survived. Yet his fame in antiquity was so great that many placed him above Demosthenes, the Rhodian school of oratory took him as its model, and Cicero mentioned him by the side of Demosthenes as an example of finished and polished eloquence. "If merits were to be counted, not weighed," says the author of the tract *On the Sublime*, "Hyperides would stand far above Demosthenes." Though he has grace and charm, beauty and simplicity of style, a natural and easy manner, and other oratorical excellences, yet

he lacks the mighty power and grandeur of Demosthenes, and so must yield first place to him, but to him only among political orators. We are told that there was in Budapest in the sixteenth century a complete manuscript of Hyperides with scholia, which disappeared when the city was captured by the Turks in 1526. All the more gratifying therefore is the recovery of some of his orations in recent years. One is a speech *Against Demosthenes* in which he accused the great orator of having received a bribe from Harpalus. The most important discovery is his *Funeral Oration*. This has a special interest and value because it is the only one of the extant funeral orations that was actually delivered; and, furthermore, it was esteemed by an ancient critic as perhaps the highest achievement of panegyric oratory. The only complete speech is the one *For Euxenippus*. The offhand and informal way in which it begins, "Well, gentlemen, as I was just now saying to those sitting near me, I am surprised that you are not already sick of such impeachments," and its free and easy close, "Now, Euxenippus, I have done the best I could for you. It remains for you to entreat the jury, summon your friends, and bring your children into court," illustrate the "careless grace" of Hyperides. In this speech and in his defense of Lycophron, he was pitted against the orator Lycurgus, one of the Attic Ten. The oldest and best of the manuscripts of Hyperides, and almost the last to be found, is a plainly written and attractive papyrus in the Louvre which contains his first speech *Against Athenogenes*, one of his masterpieces. His client had been tricked by the Egyptian Athenogenes, with the help of the beautiful courtesan Antigone, into buying Athenogenes' perfumery business for the sum of forty minas, and found later on to his sorrow that he had taken over along with the business debts to the amount of five talents. He therefore sought to annul the sale.

The year 1891 was the banner year for the publication of new finds of Greek literature. Then were published for the first time another speech of Hyperides, the one *Against Philipides*, Euripides' *Antiope*, Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, and the *Mimes* of Herodas. The last two were discoveries of first importance; the recovery of either alone would have been a triumph. In the necropolis of the village of Gurob in the

Fayum some mummy-cases made of layers of papyri pasted together came to light, and on being separated the papyri were found to contain, along with many non-literary documents of the third century B. C., a fragment of the *Phaedo* of Plato and four columns of the lost *Antiope* of Euripides, going back in all probability to the same early date. Antiope, the daughter of King Nycteus, bore to Zeus two sons, Amphion and Zethus, whom she exposed at birth. They were, however, reared to manhood by a shepherd to whose hut she came in flight after many years. Her sons did not recognize her, and were on the point of tying her to the horns of a wild bull at the command of Dirce, when they learned from the shepherd who she was, and they accordingly meted out this fate to Dirce. Their slaughter of Dirce's husband, Lycus, the usurping king of Thebes, was prevented by Hermes, who, as the *deus ex machina* of the play, turned over the kingdom to Amphion.

The most extraordinary literary discovery of recent years is Aristotle's treatise on the *Constitution of Athens*, so highly reputed and widely known in antiquity. It was found on the back of a waste papyrus containing some old farm accounts of the year 78-79 A. D., written not by the hand of professional scribes but probably by private individuals. It is one of a series of one hundred and fifty-eight constitutions of ancient cities which the philosopher studied and described, and the only one of this number that has survived. It falls into two parts: the first is historical and records the successive changes that took place in the development of the Athenian constitution from the beginning down to the return of the democrats after the rule of the Thirty Tyrants; the second part is a description of the government of Athens as it was in Aristotle's own time and of the machinery by which it was operated. The first part is nearly complete and makes large additions to our store of knowledge; the second, though more fragmentary, has behind it the authority and trustworthiness of the great Aristotle for the account of contemporary institutions of government, such as the council, the archons, and the law courts in Athens, and this first-hand evidence is of the greatest value to the student of constitutional history.

Eight *Mimes* of Herodas amounting to some seven hundred verses came to light in Egypt. These are little pictures of

Greek life, sketched vividly and realistically. They usually take the form of a lively conversation between two or three characters. The personages belong to the middle and lower classes—the gossiping women, the fashionable shoemaker, the pander, the go-between, the scolding mother, the jealous mistress. The *Schoolmaster* will serve as a specimen. Scene, a school for boys. Lampriscus is the master. Enter Metrotima, dragging her unwilling son, Kottalos.

"*Metrotima.* Drub this boy of mine, Lampriscus, till the soul of him, drat it, is left nowhere in his body but the lips. He has ruined me by playing pitch and toss. Where the door of the school-teacher stands, he cannot tell; but the gambling-place, where street-porters and runaways take up their quarters, is so well known to him that he will point it out to strangers. His unhappy tablets lie neglected, but his dice are shinier than our oil-flask which we use for everything. As for spelling out a word, he does not even know his alpha, unless one shouts it five times in his ears. I am driven to call myself a fool for not making him a donkey-boy, instead of putting him to study in the hope of having a support for my declining years. But it's no use scolding, for if we go on, he runs away from home, stays out three days and nights, sponging upon his grandmother, a poor old blind woman and destitute; or else he squats up there upon the roof, with his legs stretched out, like a tame ape, peering down. Just fancy what his wretched mother suffers in her heart when she sees him there. I don't care so much about him indeed. But he smashes all the roofing into broken biscuits; and when winter comes, I have to pay two shillings for each tile, with tears of anger in my eyes. All the neighbors sing the same old song: 'Yonder's the work of Master Kottalos, that boy of Metrotima's.'" (Abridged from Symonds.)

The schoolmaster then proceeds to "lam into" him with a cutting switch of bull's hide, and the boy cries to him to stop. Metrotima would have the flogging continue as long as the whip holds out or until the sun goes down. "I'll shut your mouth up with a gag," says the schoolmaster, "if you go on bawling." "Nay, then, I'm silent," says the boy, "please don't murder me." And here the whipping ceases.

The next notable event was the discovery of poems of

Bacchylides that had been lost for fourteen centuries. Previously only forty short fragments of his works were known; in 1896 fourteen odes of victory like Pindar's and six dithyrambs or narratives about the Greek heroes, aggregating nearly 1400 verses, were found in Egypt in a papyrus of the first century B. C. They add about 100 new words to the Greek dictionary, 90 of them being ornamental epithets. On two occasions Pindar and Bacchylides were commissioned to write triumphal odes in celebration of the same victory of Hieron at the national games, and the Syracusan tyrant seems to have preferred the simpler poetry of the easy and graceful Bacchylides to the rich splendor and lofty grandeur of Pindar's odes. The sounder judgment of the author of the treatise *On the Sublime*, however, ranks Bacchylides below Pindar, ascribing to him uniform excellence and an elegant and polished style but denying to him the genius and imagination of a poet of the first rank like Pindar. He is nevertheless a charming poet with an easy, flowing style, and he was numbered by the Alexandrians among the nine best lyric poets of Greece. Besides giving us another writer of odes of victory to put by the side of Pindar who previously stood alone here, the new find reveals to us the dithyramb, a species of lyric poem known before only from fragments. The dithyramb *Theseus* is in the form of a dialogue. This gives it a special interest, because in the evolution of Greek tragedy from the dithyramb there was one stage of the development in which the single actor carried on a conversation with the chorus, just such a conversation as we have between Aegeus and the chorus in the *Theseus*. Hence this, the only extant dithyramb in dialogue form, has high value in the study of the origin of the drama. Another poem, *The Youths or Theseus*, though broadly speaking a dithyramb, is in fact a choral paean to Apollo. It narrates an incident that occurred on shipboard when Minos was carrying off to Crete the seven Athenian youths and seven maidens to be the prey of the Minotaur in the Labyrinth—Athens' tribute after her subjugation. Minos made advances to the maiden Eriboea, she cried out to Theseus for help, and he stood forth as her champion, setting his own descent from the sea-god Poseidon over against Minos' claim to be sprung from Zeus, the god of the heavens. To prove his parentage Minos called

on Zeus to send the lightning, and when it came he challenged Theseus to jump into the sea and in token of his kinship to Poseidon recover the ring that he threw overboard. Theseus obeyed at once, was carried quickly by dolphins to the beautiful abode of his father Poseidon, was there clad in purple and crowned with a wreath, and soon reappeared with the gifts of the god at the side of the swiftly speeding ship.

Six new odes of Sappho have been recovered in a fragmentary condition. The first after much conjecture and restoration proves to be a prayer to the Nereids for the safe return of her brother, and a yearning for his moral reformation and his reconciliation with her. This brother Charaxus had been bewitched in Egypt by the beautiful courtesan Rhodopis, Rosy Cheek, and had lived with her after ransoming her at a great price. Herodotus reports that Sappho rebuked him bitterly for his profligate life and for this stain upon the family honor, and we may perhaps have a part of this rebuke in another fragment recently found. In the ode first mentioned she makes reference to the cutting words she used in this poem, and she is ready to welcome him back with open arms, if he will turn away from his past and from Rhodopis. The remaining poems have to do with her pupils and girl-friends. In one she laments the departure of Mnesidice who has gone to live in Sardis, there to shine among the Lydian ladies as the rosy-fingered moon among the stars. Sadder far to Sappho, as she tells us in another fragment, was the going of her beloved Atthis who left the poetess for a rival teacher. In another poem, that may have been written in anticipation of death, she has a vision in which Hermes, the conductor of the souls of the dead to the nether world, appears to her, and she tells him how she longs to die. In the opinion of editors and translators the new fragments have lines and stanzas that are equal to anything we have of Sappho, but even if they should not reach up to the high level of her best, they are at least Sappho's, and that is high praise.

The year 1897 marked the beginning of a series of unusually productive excavations in the ancient town of Oxyrhynchus, modern Behnesa, situated on the west bank of the Nile, 120 miles south of Cairo. Some low mounds here were found to

be ancient rubbish-heaps that contained large quantities of Greek papyri, both literary and non-literary, dating from various periods from the first to the seventh century. The non-literary pieces include official and private letters, contracts, wills, proclamations, petitions, census returns, court records, and documents of every sort that belong to the daily life and public administration of a town—a part, no doubt, of the archives of the government record-office that were cleared out from time to time, as they became valueless, and thrown on the rubbish-heap by the basketfull, sometimes basket and all. So plentiful was the yield that five more seasons, from 1902 to 1907, were devoted to this lucrative field, and in the whole period the excavators, Grenfell and Hunt, dug up and gave to the world much new literature in addition to valuable manuscripts of works already known. One evening they came upon a basketful of broken literary papyrus rolls at sunset, too late to get them out that day. A strong guard was set over the precious treasure for the night, and next morning it was found to contain among other things three new pieces of literature. First, there were paeans of Pindar, that is, songs of supplication or thanksgiving—a class of Pindar's poems that was virtually unknown to us before, since only 12 short lines had survived. The new papyrus, the largest one extant of a lyric poet after that of Bacchylides, contains parts of nine paeans in forty columns of 280 complete verses. The second discovery was a part of the *Hypsipyle*, a tragedy of Euripides. The third was a new history of Greece for the years 396 and 395 B. C., containing much additional information not recorded by Xenophon and Diodorus and an interesting digression on the Boeotian constitution. It plainly formed part of a large historical work of first rank, which some ascribe to Cratippus, others to Theopompus. No greater discovery has been made in the field of history since the finding of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*. At another time during this season the excavators brought to light about 75 lines of the poems of a practically unknown poet Cercidas, and fragments of the *Acts of Peter* and of the *Acts of John*; and in other seasons they found parts of two plays of Sophocles, the *Eurypylus* and the *Trackers*; fragments of Satyrus' *Life of Euripides*, written in a popular style and,

strange to say, in the form of a dialogue; and portions of the lost *Origins* (*Aetia*) of the Alexandrian poet Callimachus, containing in part the well-known love story of Acontius and Cydippe, and also a fragment of his *Iambs*, which tells of an altercation that took place between the laurel and the olive as to the merits of each.

A discovery made soon after the beginning of the excavations is of more than ordinary interest. It is a page from a papyrus book containing a collection of sayings of Jesus, unconnected in thought and each introduced by the words "Jesus saith." Some of them are familiar, like that about the mote and the beam; others combine a new with an old passage, like "Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him," and others are entirely new, as, for example, "Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye make the Sabbath a real Sabbath, ye shall not see the Father." Another papyrus leaf of the same date, the second century, containing other sayings¹ of our Lord was found in February, 1903. These bear a general resemblance to the former series, and, since they have an introduction—"These are the words which Jesus the living Lord spake to . . . and Thomas"—they are in all probability the beginning of an extensive collection, to which the sayings first discovered also belong. One of them, an uncanonical saying, "Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks . . . cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished; astonished he shall reach the kingdom, and having reached the kingdom he shall rest," has special interest because it is found in Clement of Alexandria as a quotation from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, and Harnack regards it as in substance a true saying of Christ. Besides these *Logia* or *Sayings of Our Lord*, two fragments of uncanonical gospels² were found at Oxyrhynchus, the one containing among other things the question "When wilt thou be manifest to us, and when shall we see thee?" and Christ's answer "When ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed . . . ;" the other relating a conver-

¹ See the *Wesleyan Christian Advocate* (Atlanta, Ga.) of August 18, 1904 for a translation and discussion of these *New Sayings*.

² See the *Wesleyan Christian Advocate* of July 20, 1905 and January 16, 1908.

sation between Jesus and a Pharisee in which our Saviour emphasized inner purity in contrast to outer cleanliness—plainly an effort of some late writer to illustrate the teachings of Christ in Matthew XV 1-20 and Mark VII 1-23.

Drama is well represented in the recent finds. About 500 new lines of Sophocles, nearly as many of Euripides, and more than 1500 of Menander have been recovered. Foremost among the fragments of Euripides is the *Hypsipyle*, a story connected with the expedition of the Seven against Thebes. Hypsipyle saved her father, King Thoas of Lemnos, and helped him escape at the time when the other women of the island killed the men. Later the Argonauts stopped at Lemnos on their way to Colchis, and by their leader Jason Hypsipyle became the mother of twin sons, Euneus and Thoas. But upon the discovery of her deception in secreting her father she was compelled to flee for her life, and being caught by pirates she was sold as a slave to Lycurgus, king of Nemea. Some years later when the play opens she is the nurse of Lycurgus' infant son. From her words we learn that her heart still yearns for Jason. Two travelers arrive at the palace in Nemea seeking shelter for the night; they are in fact her own sons, Euneus and Thoas, searching for their lost mother, though she does not recognize them. Notwithstanding the absence of the king they gain admission. Meanwhile, events of great moment are transpiring: the Argive king, Adrastus, and the other captains who with him are marching against Thebes to restore Polynices to the throne have reached Nemea, and now the seer Amphiaraus comes upon the scene and asks to be directed to running water, so that he may make libation to the gods on crossing the frontier. Hypsipyle consents to show the way, and leaves the baby on the grass. In her absence a snake kills the child. For this she must suffer death, for, though she pleads that she is innocent of any evil intent, the queen turns a deaf ear to her. On her way to her doom, hopeless and alone, she calls on Jason, on her children, on Amphiaraus. At that moment the seer re-enters and pleads her cause. He does more: he both convinces the queen of her innocence and he makes Hypsipyle and her sons known to each other. Furthermore, he proposes that the army give the royal child a public burial and institute the Nemean games in his honor. In his death the seer finds a

presage of the failure of the expedition against Thebes. Such is the probable course of the plot of the *Hypsipyle*, as indicated by the fragments which are scattered throughout the whole extent of the drama. Of the *Cretans*, the *Imprisoned Melanippe*, and the other Euripidean plays that were brought to light, much smaller portions were recovered.

It was a great piece of good fortune to find in Egypt a satyr-drama, the *Trackers* of Sophocles, especially as there was previously only one extant specimen, the *Cyclops* of Euripides. The satyr-drama took its name from its chorus of satyrs or goats. It was a species of drama between tragedy and comedy, resembling the former in its structure and in having for the most part the same dignified characters, but approaching the latter in the liveliness of treatment and in handling such subjects as suited the coarser and more jovial natures of Silenus and the satyrs. In the exhibition of tragedies it was the custom to add to a trilogy or group of three tragic plays a satyric afterpiece, which was both closer to the primitive type of drama and more pleasing to the people by reason of its happy ending and its less serious nature—a “frank concession to mere mortal levity,” says Browning. Such a play is the *Trackers*. The 400 lines that were found, perhaps as much as one-half of the play, are enough to enable us to make out the plot fairly well. Its subject is the theft of Apollo’s cattle and the invention of the lyre by Hermes when only six days old—the well-known story that is told in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. The prologue is spoken by Apollo, who is engaged in the search for his stolen cattle and offers a reward for the capture of the thief. The god’s display of gold induces old Silenus to speed forth on the quest accompanied by the chorus of satyrs, the “Trackers.” These with heads to the ground like dogs on the hunt soon find the tracks of the cattle and follow the trail to a cave, but are surprised to find the footprints reversed. At the cave’s mouth they hear an unearthly sound and are panic-stricken; it is the music of Hermes’ newly invented lyre within. Silenus reproaches them for their cowardice. Again the sound is heard, and the satyrs are about to flee in terror. Presently after repeated knocking, the nymph Cyllene appears and tells them of a new-born son of Zeus within who, though only six days old, has by a marvelously

rapid growth already attained the maturity of boyhood, and who in a single day invented a lyre from the shell of a tortoise and strips of cowhide. The chorus maintains that the cowhide came from Apollo's cattle, and charges the boy with the theft; Cyllene resents the accusation and stoutly defends him. The second half of the play being lost, one is left to conjecture, but it is safe to assume that Silenus and the chorus informed Apollo and claimed the reward, and that, as in the *Hymn to Hermes*, when the infant faced the angry god, he appeased him by giving him his lyre. In the plot as outlined humorous scenes are not lacking: satyrs playing the part of hunting dogs; the mischievous pranks of the youthful god in stealing the cattle and backing them into the cave; and the young thief face to face with the angry Apollo and ready to square accounts with him by the gift of the lyre. Besides the *Trackers*, small fragments of Sophocles' *Assembly of the Achaeans* and of another of his plays, probably the *Eurypylus*, were found, but not enough to give a satisfactory knowledge of their plots.

The comic poet Menander is undergoing a gradual resurrection in Egypt. Fourteen newly found lines of his comedy, the *Flatterer*, were published in 1891, and sixty more in 1903. This is the play from which Terence admits that he took the characters of the parasite and the braggart soldier in his *Eunuch*. A continuous passage of 87 verses from Menander's *Countryman* came to light in 1897. Of his play entitled the *Girl with the Shorn Locks* 51 lines were found the same year, and two parchment leaves of 61 and 60 verses a decade later. But the crowning discovery was made in July, 1905, when large parts of four plays, amounting to more than 1200 lines, were uncovered in the foundations of an old Roman house on the site of ancient Aphroditopolis. In this papyrus there are 52 verses of the *Hero*, 517 of the *Arbitrants*, 320 of the *Girl with the Shorn Locks*, all but 48 being new lines, and 344 verses of another play, conjecturally the *Samian Girl*. Previously we had only disconnected short fragments, now we have complete and consecutive scenes; and, whereas the old fragments were preserved in most cases because they contained some general truth neatly expressed or some fine saying that suited the purposes of the anthologist, the new finds furnish us the material for estimating Menander's ability in the construction

of plot and the delineation of character. As was to be inferred from the plays of Terence, who borrowed from him so extensively, Menander wrote comedies of love and intrigue with plots that have little variety. As a rule they tell a story of illicit love or rape, of the exposure of infants who are later rescued, of separation and suffering, and, in the end, of the discovery of unsuspected relationships, often through the device of trinkets, then a general recognition and a happy solution, and finally marriage. It is rather in the delineation of character that Menander excelled, perhaps one should say, in the delineation of types of character, for, while some of his personages have a distinct individuality, we are not surprised to find this friend and pupil of Theophrastus, the author of the *Characters*, painting types like the stock characters familiar to us from Latin comedy.

No survey of Greek literature unearthed in recent years is complete that does not include a mention of the *Persians* of Timotheus, the poem on the sea-fight of Salamis, whose discovery in what proved to be the oldest extant Greek manuscript revealed to us the character of the nome, a species of poetry of which no example had hitherto survived. Since, however, an article was written on the subject in this magazine soon after the publication of the *editio princeps*, a repetition of the discussion here is unnecessary.³

The British Museum had the good fortune to acquire in Egypt many of the papyri which contain the new portions of Greek literature that have been under consideration. Several of these treasures—all the more valuable because in most cases there is no other copy in existence—are placed on exhibition by the authorities of the Museum in a prominent place in the Manuscript Room, and may easily be read by any one who wishes to examine them. Here may be seen Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*; the very part of the Herodas manuscript that has in it the *Schoolmaster*, of which an outline has been given; Hyperides' *Speech against Philippides* in a papyrus written in the first century before Christ; the *Paeans* of Pindar; the *New Sayings of Jesus*, those found in 1903; and, what is most striking of all, a long sheet of papyrus, perhaps 20 inches long, containing six of the twenty new odes of Bacchylides, one of those on exhibition being *The Youths or Theseus*.

³ See a translation and discussion by the present writer in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* of July 1904, pages 221 to 231.

The Federal Reserve Act of 1913

D. D. WALLACE

Professor of History and Economics in Wofford College

The present life and institutions of a people are wonderfully influenced by their past, however ignorant of these silent forces may be the busy men who, in a certain limited sense, direct the activities of today. Just about a hundred years ago the Farmers' Exchange Bank of Gloucester, R. I., was organized with a capital of \$3,000; it accumulated deposits to such an extent that one director was able to borrow \$760,000, and, when it failed after enriching various interested parties and damaging or ruining thousands of honest citizens, the autopsy revealed specie assets of \$86.46; and yet some persons speak as though high finance was a recent invention. This event, happening almost a hundred years ago, and many others of the same sort for the next few decades, are the reason why we have suffered for the past half century with a banking and currency system marked in some respects by such serious defects, and the reason why the mighty financial institution brought into being by the act of Congress of the 23rd of December just past is in many respects as it is. The sad *ante-bellum* experience of the United States with wild cat banks and bank notes of every conceivable degree of value and no value was ended by the national banking act of 1863; but so set was the country on remedying one defect that in making the bank note absolutely secure it also makes it absolutely inelastic. Incidentally another serious defect was woven into the very texture of our system of national bank notes: In being based upon a required security of United States bonds, a powerful influence was created to prevent the payment of the national debt. Yet another fault: Half the banks of the country were set up in a position of special privilege which the other half were denied, a privilege moreover which many of those banks thus denied needed more keenly than many of those to which it was granted, namely the privilege of expanding their loanable assets at crop seasons for the accommodation of the fundamental industry of the country, its agriculture.

A bank note which can only say for itself that it is safe is very much like a white man who can boast of nothing except that he is white. What are the proper character and functions of the bank note? It should not form any very considerable part of the regular circulating medium of the country from year to year, like its gold or silver coins; for then it surrenders all its distinctive character and advantages and really has very little reason for its existence beyond the private profit of the issuing bank. The bank note circulation, if it is of the inelastic character of our national bank notes, simply does the work of ordinary metal money (and under some very critical circumstances does that very badly) and drives out of the country a corresponding amount of gold.

Bank notes appear in their proper character as the elastic portion of the currency. The business of the country is not of fixed, unchanging size. With different seasons of the year it expands and contracts, and sometimes at irregular intervals it undergoes violent and spasmodic irregularities. At these times the regular forces of competition and comparative international prices will not quickly enough adjust the supply of standard metallic money to the needs of the country. When there comes such a financial stringency, either on account of the yearly demand to move the crops or because of a financial panic, we should turn to the bank note to the extent that the business needs of the country demand. I admit that there was a time in the youth of this country when, because of the imperative demand for a circulating medium for the development of its resources and the refusal of the conservative and distrustful moneyed capitalists of Europe and the Atlantic coast to supply hard money, the bank note as ordinary current circulating medium did a good service; but that time is long past.

This is a strict definition of the nature and function of the bank note, and perhaps no country completely realizes it in practice; for we must remember that all countries have their past just as we have ours, and they, as we, must struggle long to loosen the grip of many a by-gone error.

What, then, are the objects at which the framers of the Federal reserve, or currency, act, have aimed? First, the emancipation of the business and industry of the country from

the fear of periodic panics, like that of 1907, which so seriously menace our prosperity; second, the relief of the yearly autumnal strain for money to move the crops, and intermediately to reduce the evil consequent upon the accumulation of the reserves of a rigid and inelastic circulating medium in New York, where for want of a better use they are lent out on call for gambling in stock, cotton and produce futures to an extent unexampled in any other country in the world; third, the emancipation from Wall Street control, in other words, the breaking of what is somewhat loosely for want of a better name termed the money trust; and fourth, to make the money resources of the country most largely and effectively available. These objects can only be accomplished by concentrating bank reserves and creating a note issue which is both elastic and safe, under the control of a body animated by motives of public interest and not of private gain. The system just being established by us introduces no new or untried principles, but only adapts with remarkable skill to American conditions methods which have proved successful in the great countries of Europe. The final retirement of all the present national bank notes, though facilitated by the present measure, will require twenty or thirty years and may take longer.

The first impressions of our Federal Reserve Act are of the sweeping nature of the changes which have been introduced and the powerful character of the system which has been created. The business world has taught us the lesson of huge enterprise and mighty power, and in this case the government has well learned the lesson. The very phraseology of the law is with the air of sureness and authority, and yet at the same time it offers such inestimable advantages to the member banks that it is hard to see how a large financial institution could afford to be outside. It is a power of helpfulness and not of oppression.

Many of the details of the bill are themselves of great interest. The act creates not less than eight nor more than twelve Federal Reserve Banks, to be located in as many cities the centers of districts whose bounds are to be prescribed in the most serviceable manner throughout the country. The entire system is under the well nigh absolute control of the

Federal Reserve Board of seven men, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, and five presidential appointees, at least two of whom must be men of banking experience. The details of administration of each of the eight to twelve Federal Reserve Banks are managed by its own board of directors, though their acts are subject to review and they themselves to removal by the Federal Reserve Board. The Federal Reserve Board is thus left free for the direction of the great general policies of the institution; for though there are eight to twelve regional banks, they are in effect merely the branches of one thoroughly federated bank. It is understood, of course, that there is no central bank in Washington; the Federal Reserve Board in Washington simply controls the eight to twelve banks which are placed in the cities where they will do the most good and which are not so much branches of a *central bank*, as the parts and members of one widely extending national bank in the true sense of the word, whose members reach into every part of the country and whose head or directing center rests in Washington. The Federal Reserve Board revises or fixes the rates of discount the Reserve Banks may charge, supervises their business in every way it sees fit, forces one of them to rediscount the discounted paper of another if that other should be in a condition of such need, and inspects not only the Reserve Banks whenever it pleases, but also any member bank. Though the Federal Reserve Board may remove any officer or director of a Reserve Bank, it appoints only three of the nine directors; but it also appoints one of these three to the double position of chairman of the board of directors of that bank and of Federal Reserve Agent at that bank.

This officer, the Federal Reserve Agent, forms a convenient nexus by which we may pass from the supreme Federal Reserve Board of seven men in Washington to the eight to twelve separate Reserve Banks in the various parts of the country. The Federal Reserve Agent is not only the chief executive officer of his bank but is also the direct personal representative of the Federal Reserve Board, and indeed his office in the bank building is called their office. While he stands as a part of that bank, he is also set strictly to watch it, to issue circu-

lating notes to it, to hold in his custody certain of its securities, and to keep constantly in touch with the supreme Federal Reserve Board in Washington.

The other six of the nine directors of the Reserve Bank are elected by the banks of the district, each having one vote. For this purpose the banks of the district are divided into three as nearly similar groups as possible, and each group chooses two of the six men, this arrangement and that of one vote equally for every bank making impossible any kind of ring rule or big stick methods. Every national bank in the United States must become a stock holder in the Federal Reserve Bank of its district to the exact amount of six per cent of its capital and surplus, which must be paid in gold. This alone will supply \$106,000,000. State banks may become members on the same terms, and thereby become amenable to the same system of inspection. If banks do not take a sufficient amount of stock to suit the managers, the public may be invited to buy or the United States Government may take any amount necessary for cash and the unwilling national bank will be closed at the end of a year; but these contingencies are too remote to detain us. No bank may sell or hypothecate its stock, for the institution is strictly a bankers' bank, owned solely by bankers, administered in large part by their elected directors, but controlled by the government's Federal Reserve Board of seven men in Washington.

Six per cent dividends go to the stock holding banks; above this, half the profits go to the government as a franchise tax and half to the surplus fund until that augments to 40 per cent of the capital, after which the entire dividends above six per cent go to the government. This is a principle which should be applied to every monopoly in existence, since, where competition cannot restrain the amount of profit drawn from the people, and a reasonable compensation upon the capital, the government, their only possible defender, should.

Having briefly sketched the organization, let us examine the functions of the Federal Reserve Banks. Besides being allowed to establish foreign branches, which under some circumstances might be of extreme value to the government and people of the United States, we can notice only the four func-

tions of receiving deposits, holding reserves, making discounts, and issuing notes.

The Reserve Banks may receive deposits only from member banks or the United States government, which is authorized to deposit all the general revenues there, thus departing from the mediæval strong box system into which we were driven in 1846 by the wild cat bank system alluded to in the first part of this paper. Tens of millions of dollars which have been drained from the channels of commerce will thus be poured into their proper circulation with an effect altogether beneficial to enterprise and business. Against its deposits the reserve bank must maintain a cash reserve in its vaults of 35 per cent. (The Bank of England keeps between 40 per cent and 50 per cent.)

Regarding the reserves of ordinary national banks, the concentration which the new law accomplishes makes safe their reduction to the following figures: For country banks, 12 per cent of their demand deposits; of which 4 per cent must be in their own vaults, 5 per cent in the reserve bank, and the other 3 per cent in either; for banks in the present reserve cities, 15 per cent; 5 per cent to be in their own vaults; 6 per cent in the reserve bank, and the other 4 per cent in either; for central reserve cities (at present New York, St. Louis, Chicago, but to which the Federal Reserve Board may add others at its discretion), 18 per cent; 6 per cent to be in their own vaults, 7 per cent in the reserve bank, and the other 5 per cent in either. Thus the reserves of the entire country will be concentrated like eight great armies in eight strategic points, and will moreover be under the absolute command of the Federal Reserve Board to order by a vote of five of its seven members to be concentrated still further to such extent as the circumstances may demand by means of requiring any reserve bank to rediscount the discounted paper of any other reserve bank. Those who object to this forget that we have not created eight or twelve separate banks, but eight or twelve limbs of one great body. In the German phrase, "Eine hand wäscht die andere."

We now pass to the functions of discount. Here, as in every other activity save in open market operations consisting

of the mere buying and selling of certain securities, etc., the reserve bank may do business only with its member banks. One of the shortcomings of the American banking system has been the lack of an adequate system of rediscounts, which would make financial capital so much more fluid, available and widely serviceable. It is almost unbelievable to an American that half the commercial paper in the German Empire is rediscounted by the Imperial Bank; and there are three other great banks that do a great deal of the same business. In Europe the notes of small tradesmen of good standing are rediscounted hundreds of miles away from home, and even in foreign countries. With our Federal Reserve Bank the great business is to be the discounting of the already discounted paper of the member banks. The process is carefully guarded by the following provisions: No bills or notes shall be rediscounted except such as have originated in actual commercial, industrial, or agricultural operations; and specifically none shall be dealt in which were made in connection with stock gambling, future dealings or speculation.

Should the reserve bank not have sufficient cash for making advances to the member banks, it will advance its circulating notes. I can only say incidentally that the system looks to the retirement through a considerable series of years of the present national bank notes and the payment of the bonds now securing them and the more and more complete displacement of these notes by those of the reserve banks. A reserve bank must buy the bonds of any member bank which so desires and may itself issue notes on their security; but the idea is that the main note issues will be of another character, as follows: The reserve bank presents to its head and overseer, i. e., the gentleman holding the double office of chairman of its board of directors and Federal reserve agent, gilt edge commercial collateral which it has rediscounted or proposes to rediscount in the shape of notes, bills of exchange, drafts, etc., of the character described above, to the face value of the notes which it wishes to obtain from that officer. If this official approves of the collaterals, he keeps them in his custody and hands over the amount of notes to the Federal Reserve Bank, which proceeds to lend them out in the course of business to its member banks.

The Federal Reserve Bank must, however, keep in its vaults a reserve in gold against the notes which it issues equal to 40 per cent of their face value. These notes constitute a first lien upon all the property of the bank, but they also are a claim against the United States Government, since they do not have, like the present national bank notes, the security of a specific body of United States bonds. They must be cashed either by the United States Government or any reserve bank. In view of the fact that the reserve banks will probably have within the first year of operation cash resources of almost \$800,000,000, it is not likely that they will need to issue more notes than can conveniently be done under the 40 per cent gold reserve limitation. But if unusual demands should require, the Federal Reserve Board may authorize the issue of notes in excess under the penalty of a certain complicated tax, which must be paid to the government by the reserve bank and added as increased interest above the regular rate charged to the member banks whose paper is rediscounted with the excessive note issues. The simple imposition of a tax, even a small amount in excess of the profits to be made upon the notes, would supply ample reassurance that they would be retired as soon as the danger of panic, to allay which they had been issued, had passed.

We may sum up in the words of Senator Owen, that the "fundamentals" of the currency act are, "the concentration of bank reserves, the mobilization of bank reserves, the establishment of an open discount market, the establishment of an elastic currency in the form of Federal reserve notes as against commercial bills, and the establishment of foreign branches to handle the foreign business of the United States." It is indeed a great measure, a statesmanlike measure.

The credit for it is due to many persons; to the leaders of the American Bankers' Association, who for many years have unweariedly agitated for some such reform, when few outside their own ranks paid any heed; to a few eminent professors and writers of political economy who perhaps by their teachings during the years when the underground work was being done have helped to send men to Congress who have now brought the structure above ground. The reform did not come in just

the form which the bankers hoped, for Congress would not consent to grant them the control which they desired, but none the less their influence made for progress. The services of Chairman Glass and Owen and President Wilson were all that their positions of high responsibility demanded. No partisan prejudice should permit us to deny credit to the man of the opposite party who for years stood among the leaders for currency reform—Nelson W. Aldrich, chairman of the Monetary Commission and author of the Aldrich-Vreeland bill which failed of passage. His ambition was to round out his career with a great measure of this kind; but his unblushing championship of the vested interests and the sins of his party in the same direction robbed his ideas of the force which they otherwise would have had with the American people, who feared the Greeks even when they came bearing gifts. Whether the gift in this instance concealed a secret peril opinions will differ; but there seems no doubt that the great preponderance of responsible opinion is that the Aldrich plan left too great a power in the hands of men beyond the public control, and moreover that under any circumstances his plan of one great central bank could not serve a country of such vast extent as ours so intimately and well as the plan which has been adopted in which there is the equal power of doing good but far less power of doing harm.

The currency, or Federal reserve act, is much the best and most momentous step which we have taken in banking since the War of Secession. What its exact effects will be the most experienced and able bankers or economists cannot exactly predict. So much depends on the intelligence, aims and spirit in which a system is administered. It is undeniable that the Federal Reserve Board by systematically fostering the reckless expansion of unsound business ventures could occasion an inflation of the currency which would be followed by very serious injury; but no system can be constructed which is free enough to be of service without also being susceptible of being used for harm. We have learned much during the past fifty years; let us hope we have learned, like the rest of civilized mankind, how to use but not abuse the powerful weapons of modern finance. The men who conduct either the Bank of

England or the Bank of France could wreck the financial structure of their countries in a few weeks or honeycomb them with weakness within a few months; and yet they perform their functions with an intelligent devotion to the public good which is the finest political product of civilization. Let us hope that the same may be true of the men who shall conduct our system.

Sidney Lanier

FRANK W. CADY

Assistant Professor of English in Middlebury College.

Immaturity is the key to any analysis of the work of Sidney Lanier. Yet, in using that word as descriptive of the poet, one must safeguard himself against being misunderstood. It connotes no callow youthfulness. Rather, it is intended to represent an attitude of mind best explained perhaps, in the figure of the explorer, who bends all his energies toward the distant goal, of which, doubtless, he did not dream at first, but which has, during the passing years, become more and more clearly the object of his life's purpose. It is only when that purpose is accomplished that he reaches his maturity. Such was the purpose which grew to inspire Lanier. As his life progressed he saw himself coming more and more to direct it by aspiration toward as definite a goal. But he was cut off before the goal was reached. For this reason I say that the key to any understanding of his life is this word immaturity.

The strands of his life are three: first, the poet; second, the musician; third, the scholar. As a poet he was gifted with poetic imagination, a truly intuitive perception of the truths of life. As a musician he was instinctively constrained to sing these truths. As a scholar he applied to all of life the unending curiosity about things which is the poet's dower.

Inevitably he did his clearest thinking upon questions concerned with music and poetry. It was there his heart lay, so that there his mind worked most eagerly and most successfully. We see him early endeavoring to explore, with the growing curiosity of an alert and willing mind, the affinities between music and poetry. And it soon developed that beyond this field of exploration there was to appear before him in imagination the fascinating goal of throwing open to the world through his own verse new and as yet undiscovered fields of poetic melody. Scholarship was, for him, but the handmaiden of opportunity. He had just touched the borders

of this wonderland when death claimed him. His latest poems show aspiration but not achievement. He never reached maturity.

It is in his literary criticism that the evidence for this view of Lanier's life is most obviously presented; but it runs through all his work. For the truth probably is that the last years of his life represent the seed time of which a complete harvest was never to follow. Then for the first time he found himself in a place congenial to his every interest. During that period came his first opportunity for study since college days. He went at the work with untiring enthusiasm. The result was so great an enrichment of his own resources that he must needs impart at once to others the fruits of his own labors in every field. He was exploring everywhere and recording his explorations. But some fields were found more congenial than others and in these his labors bore the most substantial fruit, as there he found the path which was to lead him to the goal of his imaginings.

The critical work which is a result of this study makes a somewhat uneven impression. For instance, a distinctly better quality is apparent whenever he is within the field of music, as an art in itself, or in its relation to poetry. His opinions are more matured. There is an atmosphere of assured scholarship about them that the more purely literary criticism lacks. It was, of course, through his studies of the relation between music and verse-melody that he began to see his goal.

Not so satisfactory is the effect upon the candid mind of the purely literary criticism. The subject matter is treated in a delightful manner, for Lanier has a luminous and strong prose style. But his attitude toward it is peculiarly immature. He faces his problem with the naive delight of the youth to whom the tritest bits of knowledge are fresh and new. He breaks old paths with all the delight of a discoverer. He often says the familiar, the obvious thing, with the zest of one proclaiming a new found truth. This is probably because he was writing lectures more or less popular in form. But it is also to be explained by the fact that he was writing in the midst of his own research; was himself still a learner, not fully oriented in the problems he was attacking.

Of *The English Novel* this is particularly true. It is not, as its title would indicate, a discussion of the English Novel in the accepted meaning of such a discussion; but an essay upon the developing consciousness of personality from remote antiquity to the writings of George Eliot in whose characters it received its final expression. George Eliot, in his mind, but epitomized the consciousness of personality inherent in her generation. As one reads it is with a feeling of disappointment that a thesis so obvious has usurped the attention of a writer upon the novel. It does not appear to need the patient elaboration which it receives. That the true measure of personality was never known until these latter times is bound up in our whole conception of the growth of the race. It is an accepted corollary of that conception. It impresses the reader as a commonplace of life which needs little attention because of its obviousness. And Lanier's book as a whole strikes one as the effort of a man who is in the act of exploring this very theory and recording his explorations; but has not paused to muse over his results and find their true relations. It is a record of explorations in an old field, not recognized as old by the explorer, but sure to be so recognized by him in time.

The Shakespeare volume does not make quite the same impression because it has no such definitely stated thesis to maintain. Indeed, it reveals charmingly what a host of little known facts about the time Lanier had gathered together. It illustrates the fascination which the period had for him. It is an interesting record of much extensive research. But the emphasis placed upon the work of some of the poets considered indicates hasty or ill-formed judgments due to the lack of true perspective which would have come from a more matured consideration of the evidence attained by his research. He was unable to give himself time for perfect assimilation. Both books show the same fresh interest in old problems, the same atmosphere of discovery in well-mapped fields. In short, they radiate the simple enthusiasm of the guide personally-conducting for the first time. In the bulk, then, we are tempted to discount his purely literary criticism. He has not found his

way in this field. In it he is to develop no path of original discovery.

Yet we must remember that we are dealing with a poet, a man greater than a critic. Thus it happens that, although the critic's logic often leads him astray, the imagination of the poet leads him straight to what he seeks. The poetic imagination is essentially an intuitive, illogical, inspired handling of the facts of life. It reaches out after them and combines them in new and amazingly true ways. It is the most audacious thing in the world, but it is also the truest. An imagination of this sort Lanier had. He was a poet; and wherever in his criticism he allows his imagination sway, he speaks with the inevitableness of poetic insight. There are flashes of keen criticism here and there, incidental to the main theme, but none the less indications of the qualities of his mind, as when he remarks of Shelley:

"In truth, Shelley appears always to have labored under an essential immaturity; it is very possible that if he had lived a hundred years, he would never have become a man: he was penetrated with modern ideas, but penetrated as a boy would be crudely, overmuch, and with a constant tendency to the extravagant and illogical; so that I call him the modern boy."

Or of Whitman:

"But what age of time ever yielded such a dandy as the founder of this school, Whitman himself? The simpering beau who is the product of the tailor's wit is certainly absurd enough; but what difference is there between that and the other dandy-up-side-down, who from equal motives of affectation throws away coat and vest, dons a slouch hat, opens his shirt, so as to expose his breast, and industriously circulates his portrait, thus taken, in his own books. And this dandyism—the dandyism of the roustabout—I find in Whitman's poetry from beginning to end."

Such criticism demands imaginative insight. It is the product of intuition; and when he indulges in it we find Lanier moving with assured and oriented powers.

His biographer speaks truly when he says:

"Suppose we cease to think of the first two [the Shakespeare lectures and the *English Novel*] as formal treatises on the subjects they discuss and rather select from them such passages as the discussion of per-

sonality, the relation of music, science, and the novel, the criticism of Whitman's theory of art, the discussion of the relations of morals to art, the best passages on Anglo-Saxon poetry and the Elizabethan sonneteers, and the finer passages on Shakespeare's growth as a man and as a dramatist. Such a volume would, I believe, confirm one in the opinion that Lanier belongs by right among the best American critics. Certainly the *Science of English Verse* entitles him to that distinction."

The *Science of English Verse* is another matter, to which we shall come immediately. Suffice it to say that it is only by a selection somewhat like that above, that we can overcome the impression of immaturity made upon us by the two works mentioned; and that in all these selections it is Lanier, the poet, who has come to the aid of Lanier, the critic, and saved him from himself.

So much for the purely literary criticism. Our next group of writings, *Music and Poetry* and *The Science of English Verse*, especially the latter, show more assurance of the path of discovery opening before him, and a more mature and exacting scholarship. We are here in the field of critical study which was Lanier's especial province, and in which he remains supreme. He was thoroughly at home in the realm of music, particularly orchestral music, and profoundly interested in the physics of sound. Consequently we find him speaking with a more assured voice than elsewhere. He has gone further toward explaining the subtle relations between music and poetry than has any other investigator. There breathes through the whole treatise on *The Science of English Verse* the spirit of the poet illuminating the findings of the scientist, but the investigation is carried on in the true scientific spirit amongst a group of facts which are capable, as far as one is able to obtain evidence in their support, of the most exact scientific exposition. The fundamental conception of the work is that the English language is essentially rhythmic; that through all the variations of tone-color and intensity there runs this rhythmic quality which insists that the syllables of any spoken group of words stand to each other in definite time relations and are thus grouped by the speaking voice as the result of habit. Lanier had no use for the system which bases English verse upon accent. Accent is simply a device for marking

somewhat complex rythms. The basis of all poetry is, to him, the natural and universally recognized rythm of the language. As a matter of fact, Lanier does not stop long enough in his argument to support this most important premise by sufficient examples. But when his critics, in commenting upon Lanier's doctrine, speak of the "normal unrythmical enunciation of the language" they are making a statement as unsupported as Lanier's and against which it is certain the poet could bring a host of examples in refutation. Much, indeed, seems to show that, as Lanier says, the normal enunciation of the language is rythmical; and that, if we had instruments delicate enough to register, for any sentence spoken, the relations between the time consumed in pronouncing different syllables, these relations would be found to constitute a definite rythm. It is, of course, true that the rythm of poetry does not show the rigidity of musical rythm. But to state this fact is not to deny rythm to poetry. The difference, indeed, can be easily shown. While the author clearly indicates at the start, as does the composer, the rythmic relation of his sounds, as two, three, or four, to a foot, it is the privilege of the interpreter of his rythm to arrange the syllables within the foot in whatever relation of time he desires; provided this in no respect violates the rythmic system indicated at the beginning. This the interpreter of music cannot do. In other words, the composer binds his interpreter to a definite sequence of measures of a definite rythm, and assigns the time within each measure; while the poet, indicating the measure he desires, allows his interpreter all the richness of time variation he can throw into each measure, provided its fundamental time value is not violated. It is here that the rythm of poetry is infinitely varied and becomes vastly richer than that of music in its delicate subtleties; just as the speaking voice is able to register many more subtle variations in pitch than does the singing voice, while retaining the tone-color of the syllables as the singing voice can never do.

But while all this may be felt to be true, it is also certain that in spoken language the melody does not make the primary appeal. We are willing to sacrifice words to music when we hear a wonderful singer, because the music has an appeal quite

beyond that of the words that are sung. This is not true of poetry. The melody of the verse must always be subordinate to the thought the verse expresses. The bald, unimaginative denotation of the words as signs of ideas is the thing of fundamental importance. But when these ideas are in themselves poetic, when they are surrounded with the thousand associations by which life's experience ennobles and exalts them, then it is that the melodies of verse, those subtle and beautiful things of which Lanier speaks with such evident understanding, illumine and intensify their most wonderful connotations; blessing them with a newer and richer significance. The melodies of prose and verse are the handmaidens of the thought. They never can ennoble the thought that is base. In its presence their radiant beauty becomes the false sparkle of mere tinsel. But the imagination of the true poet seizes upon them to adorn its most delicate fancies, and they take on a beauty never before suspected and a radiance as of the dawn. The great danger to Lanier's poetry from his study of the science of verse is that he may emphasize unduly what should always remain part of the background; and in his search for new and beautiful melodies in verse forget how essential to their true effect are thoughts as poetic and as beautiful. That this danger is a real one a paragraph of recent criticism will reveal. The quotation is from Mr. Long's discussion of "The Marshes of Glynn" in his recently published *American Literature*.

"The same poem serves to illustrate the quality of Lanier's thought which most appeals to us, and that is a certain indefiniteness. This is not due to any failure on the part of the poet to think or speak clearly; it is rather the recognition of the fact that some things, like the sunset, are unbounded, and that certain human emotions have no adequate expression. There comes a time when words fail, when we must leave poetry and take up music, if we are to express what is in us. So in most of Lanier's verse there is a sense of failure, of incompleteness. He takes us as far as he can go and says, Your own heart must finish the poem. Some have said that Lanier failed because he followed rules or a mistaken theory of poetry, and at times one might wish that he had never heard of the 'science' of verse; for his theory often interfered with his spontaneity,—which is the first grace of a bird song or a poem. Then all such criticism is hushed by the reflection that

music also is incomplete, that the best music invariably leaves us unsatisfied or sad, and that Lanier's art may be more perfect than even his admirers have supposed. It is possible that he intended his verse to have the haunting, saddening quality of a symphony; that he deliberately left it incomplete in order to make it harmonize, not with his own theory, but with the known facts of human experience."

We here find a grave defect of the later poems put in as favorable a light as possible. It would seem according to Long that Lanier was trying to express that which mere words could not convey and used the words simply as a kind of musical notation. Rather, the true path of his progress would appear to lie along the way which would lead him to express in poetry only those thoughts which poetry could express, with his wonderful melodies duly subordinated as servants of the words which convey the thoughts. The indefiniteness to which Long calls attention so pleasantly is thus seen to be another indication of the immaturity which we have noted as characteristic of Lanier. He was experimenting in form and would have succeeded had he been given time.

For there is little doubt that the discussion undertaken in *The Science of English Verse* was but one manifestation of the new purpose which came into his poetry; the fulfillment of which was to be the goal of his endeavor. He felt the rhythmic possibilities of verse to be a field practically unexplored. He saw in the simple rhythms and simpler melodies of our poetry only the beginnings in a field which seemed to him to be practically limitless. This feeling he expresses at one point in his discussion of *Shakespeare and His Forerunners*.

"When a poet publishes a poem he must depend entirely upon the known accentuation of English words to guide his readers to a proper conception of his rhythm. Unfortunately this guide is often ambiguous. A number of English particles—the prepositions, the conjunctions, and other short words of one syllable—can take the strong accent of a trochee or a dactyl or the weak unaccented portions equally well: and consequently the poets confine themselves to a small number of such simple rhythmic measures as immediately suggest themselves to the average reader.

"For this reason, every child who is taught to read ought to be taught the musical system of notation: and in this way a public could

be prepared to whom the poet could intelligently present those magnificent rhythmic combinations of which the English language is so amply capable."

It is the implication in the last of the last sentence to which I wish especially to call attention. Lanier was convinced in his own mind after careful study that the rhythmic possibilities of the language were capable of vaster development than they had ever received. It is a somewhat more difficult matter to point out just the direction which he thought the development ought to take. There is plenty of indication in his poems that he wrote with loving attention to details of rhythm and melody even those poems expressed in conventional meters. Only in a few of the longer poems do we see him attempting to work out his elaborated theories.

In this connection there are two things which are significant in addition to his *Science of English Verse*. One of these is his connection with the Peabody Orchestra in Baltimore, where he became fascinated with the wonderful possibilities of orchestral music; and the other is the writing of the Centennial Cantata. It is evident that he believed it to be possible to imitate in poetry the various movements of a symphony; that he conceived the possibility of varying rhythm to suit the thought and of suggesting the thought of each movement not alone by the words composing it, but by the music of the movement as a whole. He raised the music to its highest connotative possibilities. He dwelt upon the background of the thought, and any sense of incompleteness one may feel arises out of incompleteness of thought, not incompleteness of melodic utterance. The only normal way of progress for Lanier was to learn the due subordination of his background. As the gorgeous setting of these modern days often dwarfs and weakens the impression of the finest acting, so Lanier's gorgeous setting of melody dwarfs and weakens the impression which his thought ought to make.

Just the nature of his theories in regard to this whole matter may be discovered from a quotation out of a letter written by him to the *New York Tribune*. This letter was called forth by the controversy which had grown up around his cantata. He says:

"Inasmuch as only general conceptions are capable of such interpretation [by orchestral instruments] a poem for (say) a cantata should consist of one general idea, animating the whole; besides this it should be composed of subordinate related ideas; each of these subordinate ideas should be the central idea of a separate stanza, or movement; each stanza should be boldly contrasted in sentiment with its neighbor stanzas in order to permit those broad outlines of tone-color which constitute the only means known to music for differentiating ideas and movements from each other; and finally, the separate central ideas of these subordinate stanzas, or movements, should not run into each other, but begin and end abruptly."

These two quotations when taken in connection with his latest poems show definitely the direction in which he thought poetry ought to move to find freedom in those "magnificent rhythmic combinations of which the English language is so amply capable." A poem like *Sunrise* is a poetic symphony. It carries Lanier's prophecy to as adequate fulfillment as he could give it, in separating the ideas into stanzaic groups in each of which the thought is given the rhythmic background which would in the poet's mind best express it. And it falls into the obvious defects of such an attempt. The attention of the poet is so much upon the background that at times it becomes obtrusive, and there is the resulting haziness in impression which Long notes. To say that this is an impression consciously striven for by Lanier, is to give him the benefit of the doubt with a high hand. It is rather a defect of his immaturity. *Sunrise*, the last of his poems, is in its promise the greatest; and its promise lies in the ability Lanier shows in certain parts to overcome this very haziness which has been noted. The movement which has for its thought basis the effect of the leaves upon the poet shows this haziness in its worst form. The poet has lost his thought in the midst of his melody. As he so often does in his use of figures, he here indulges in all sorts of conceits of melody. It is Lanier, the improvisor upon the flute, turned melodist in words.

Ye lispers, whisperers, singers in storms,
Ye consciences murmuring faiths under forms,
Ye ministers meet for each passion that grieves,
Friendly, sisterly, sweetheart leaves,
Oh, rain me down from your darks that contain me
Wisdoms ye winnow from winds that pain me,—
Sift down tremors of sweet-within-sweet
That advise me of more than they bring,—repeat
Me the woods-smell that swiftly but now brought breath
From the heaven-side bank of the river of death,—
Teach me the terms of silence,—preach me
The passion of patience,—sift me,—impeach me,—
And there, oh there
As ye hang with your myriad palms upturned in the air
Pray me a myriad prayer.

On the other hand the same poem contains a stanza which expresses a more beautiful movement with all the restraint of a master, whatever figurative conceits it may contain.

Yet now the dew-drop, now the morning gray,
Shall live their little lucid sober day
Ere with the sun their souls exhale away.
Now in each pettiest personal sphere of dew
The summ'd morn shines complete as in the blue
Big dew-drop of all heaven: with these lit shrines
O'er-silvered to the farthest sea-confines,
The sacramental marsh one pious plain
Of worship lies. Peace to the ante-reign
Of Mary Morning, blissful mother mild,
Minded of nought but peace, and of a child.

The immature Lanier we have, knew how sometimes. Therein lay the promise, for the mature Lanier would have known always.

Out of all this it is but a step to a discussion of Lanier's poetry in the aspects of significance to us. I must confess that I find that much of the poetry makes upon me an impression unsatisfying and baffling. Part of this is due to the haziness of thought for which I have tried to account. Lanier's musical genius had led him astray. He sees life with the poet's eye, thinking the thoughts of a poet about what he sees. But he expresses his thoughts as naturally in music as in words and here and there confuses the two notations. It is this confusion which he must overcome before he can come into his heritage

as a poet. But its result in his poetry is to baffle and confuse, for he dares to defy a law of expression, that thought in poetry must be denoted through words, and that the office of verse melody is merely connotative. The verse is but the background. Lanier, however, finds himself constantly tending to throw it out of perspective and intrude it upon his foreground. It is in these poems, indeed, that we see him struggling toward his goal. But when he retains the old time perspective, when his imagination expresses itself at its best in words, and enriches the meaning of the words with fitting melodies in verse; when there is about the poetry the exquisite restraint of genius; then we find him speaking in the simplicity of the great poets, a message every man can understand. He is no longer a baffling poet writing for the elect, but a man among men. If we had these poems alone the impression made by his poetry would be neither unsatisfying nor baffling. Fascinating to his music-loving soul as seem to have been the possibilities of verse melody for conveying thought beyond and besides the words, it was along the other line that he would have found his ultimate success. One lesson of his progress would have been that poetry must be kept distinct in this respect from music. Here, also, it is true that no man can serve two masters. Poetry never has and never can convey the subtler emotions that music alone can compass. Lanier could never have succeeded in shifting the weight of thought from words to melody, much less in making both bear at once the same burden. There is nothing but confusion in attempting to speak in two languages at once. But he could, with his musical imagination, increase and enormously vary the connotative possibilities of verse-melody, reaching far out into the realms of music, as long as he never forgot the due relation and subordination of the melodies he sang to the words that formed both their notation and the symbols of the thought which he is trying to express.

To trace adequately the development of his imagination is an impossible task. It is indeed a question whether imagination ever does at heart develop. It is God given. It may be enriched, but essentially it remains the same. From the beginning Lanier's was remarkably sensitive to two influences. Nature uplifted him, men called to him. He delighted to ex-

press the struggles of man in the terms of nature. And he expressed in the same terms the highest and most beautiful aspiration of his own soul. In the earlier poems the meters exert their wholesome restraint upon him. He uses simple forms and binds his thought within them to its great advantage. His imagination, truly poetic, expresses itself in terms whose emotional appeal we can understand. From such a poem is the following :

Sometimes in morning sunlights by the river
Where in the early fall long grasses wave,
Light winds from over the moorland sink and shiver
And sigh as if just blown across a grave.

And then I pause and listen to this sighing.
I look with strange eyes on the well-known stream.
I hear wild birth cries uttered by the dying.
I know men waking who appear to dream.

In the same way his tender poem, *Raven Days*, brings us a vivid picture of the sad times of Reconstruction :

Our hearths are gone out and our hearts are broken,
And but the ghosts of homes to us remain,
And ghastly eyes and hollow sighs give token
From friend to friend of an unspoken pain.

O Raven days, dark Raven days of sorrow,
Bring to us in your whetted ivory beaks
Some sign out of the far land of To-morrow
Some strip of sea-green dawn, some orange streaks.

Ye float in dusky files, forever croaking.
Ye chill our manhood with your dreary shade.
Dumb in the dark, not even God invoking,
We lie in chains, too weak to be afraid.

O Raven days, dark Raven days of sorrow,
Will ever any warm light come again?
Will ever the lit mountains of To-morrow
Begin to gleam athwart the mournful plain?

As time goes on Lanier shows increasing certainty both in thought and in expression. His comments upon the problems

of the day are always interesting and original. Two things, however, are noteworthy. There is a constantly increasing reference to music in the poetry, and a constantly increasing tendency to imitate the symphonic form in what he writes. In *The Symphony* he draws his basic figure from the orchestra, making the instruments the speakers, each after his own nature. In the *Psalm of the West*, written the following year, 1876, the structure is evidently symphonic; a succession of metrical movements, varied to suit the thought. The centennial cantata, dated that same year, aroused a storm of criticism because it so evidently embodied in its form the conception of symphonic treatment where the voice was but one of many orchestral instruments. These poems show Lanier on the highway to his final conception of new melodic possibilities; expressed immaturely, I am sure even he would say, in the longer two of the *Hymns of the Marshes*, written just before his death. Indeed, it might be possible to argue that the four poems composing this series were simply four larger movements of the same poem; but it is at least reasonable to believe that within the two longer poems we have a succession of movements in which melody and thought vary together. These poems it is which are the last records of his explorations toward the goal of his ideals. The keynote of their structure is that they are the record of a series of moods as the poet watches the sun rise and set over the marshes, moods in which the most elusive feelings find a place and yet are bound in a way truly characteristic of Lanier to the struggles of every day. He reads the meaning of the mood in conduct. The ideal of expression toward which he was striving is evident. The record of his mood was to be made not alone in words. The words were to be arranged in movements, marvelously melodious, which would by their subtle expression of the mood itself, assist and enrich their connotation. He wished us to feel the sweep of the symphonic movement as we grasped the meaning of the words. This was his ideal. It was this he attempted in these poems. Nor did he come far short of success. We can feel their promise, but the two-fold method of communication sometimes clogs our understanding, for the words often denote little, though the melody may connote much. We are baffled and confused.

The great defect is that Lanier is without restraint in melody. He is still experimenting. If he had lived to discover how to restrain his melodies to their true function; if he had learned, that is, to use them only to enhance and enrich the meanings of his words, he would have attained his goal. That there are in the field of his experimentation wonderful possibilities his own work has proved. That he has been so successful even in these initial attempts shows the power and reach of his imagination. He has the exuberance of immaturity, the eagerness of youth.

Yet I cannot help feeling that there are among his poems others, greater than these, not in promise, it may be, but in accomplishment. If Wordsworth needed the limitations of the sonnet to restrain his profuseness and, as it were, extract the essence of his genius, Lanier needed it as much to curb, restrain, and throw into perspective his wonderful skill in the use of melody. And so it is that we find the most certain evidence of his poetic worth in those poems of his later years in which the metrical conventionalities have kept under control his tendencies to improvisation. Conspicuous as examples are the Columbus sonnets in the *Psalm of the West*, and the sonnets *In Absence* written to his wife.

Let no man say, *He at his lady's feet*
Lays worship that to Heaven alone belongs;
Yea, swings the incense that for God is meet
In fliprant censers of light lover's songs.
Who says it, knows not God, nor love, nor thee;
For love is large as is yon heavenly dome:
In love's great blue, each passion is full free
To fly his favorite flight and build his home.
Did e'er a lark with skyward-pointing beak
Stab by mischance a level-flying dove?
Wife-love flies level, his dear mate to seek:
God-love darts straight into the skies above.
Crossing, the windage of each other's wings
But speeds them both upon their journeyings.

Again we have the same thing in a differing way in his fine poem to Bayard Taylor. But perhaps better than all is the ballad, *The Revenge of Hamish*, which I am often tempted to

think the best of his poems in any form. I quote the first three stanzas.

It was three slim does and a ten-tined buck in the bracken lay;
And all of a sudden the sinister smell of a man,
Awaft on a wind-shift, wavered and ran
Down the hill-side and sifted along through the bracken and passed
that way.

Then Nan got a-tremble at nostril; she was the daintest doe;
In the print of her velvet flank on the velvet fern
She reared, and rounded her ears in turn.
Then the buck leapt up, and his head as a king's to a crown did go

Full high in the breeze, and he stood as if Death had the form of a
deer;
And the two slim does long lazily stretching arose,
For their day dream slowlier came to a close,
Till they woke and were still, breath-bound with waiting and wonder
and fear.

This remarkable narrative has one virtue, at least, which is the proud possession of few of Lanier's poems. It is singularly without conceits. I know not what unfortunate sprite was present at our poet's birth. Sometimes I fear it was Puck himself, that tricksy spirit who presided over the destinies of the Elizabethans, with whom Lanier was in so many ways akin. At any rate, without half the excuse which many of them had, he shows all their fondness for conceit and far-fetched metaphor. They were, the most of them, nothing more than skillful versifiers who must call all devices, however cheap, to their assistance. He was in very truth a poet, whom cheap jewels cursed. They were experimenters in poetry, testing their language by every device to find its possibilities. He was the inheritor of what they had discovered. And yet he could not refrain from the wildest and most unpoetical of conceits. It was as though pure intellect, the father of all such folly, usurped now and then the office of the imagination, and dragged its glories in the dust. To mar a poem like his *Sunrise* with the figure in the following quotation is to utterly debase the imagination. He is describing the sunrise:

Now a dream of a flame through that dream of a flush is up rolled:
 To the zenith ascending, a dome of undazzling gold
 Is builded in shape as a bee-hive, from out of the sea:
 The hive is of gold undazzling, but oh, the Bee,
 The star-fed Bee, the build-fire Bee,
 Of dazzling gold is the great Sun Bee,
 That shall flash from the hive-hole over the sea.

Nor is the pathos of his second sonnet in the series *To Our Mocking Bird* exactly the pathos he intended, at least in the last two lines.

Ah me, though never an ear for song, thou hast
 A tireless tooth for songsters: thus of late
 Thou camest, Death, thou Cat! and leap'st my gate,
 And, long ere Love could follow, thou hadst passed
 Within and snatched away, how fast, how fast,
 My bird-wit, songs, and all—thy richest freight
 Since that fell time when in some wink of fate
 Thy yellow claws unsheathed and stretched and cast
 Sharp hold on Keats, and dragged him slow away,
 And harried him with hope and horrid play—
 Ay, him, the world's best wood-bird, wise with song—
 Till thou hadst wrought thine own last mortal wrong.
 'Twas wrong! 'twas wrong! I care not, *wrong's* the word—
 To munch our Keats and crunch our mocking bird.

This is enough. Conceits are plentiful. To parody his own poem of *The Crystal*:

Thus unto thee, Lanier, the hero soul,
 A hundred hurts a day I do forgive
 Of fond conceits and far fetched metaphor
 Botching the beauty up which is thy right.

For, after all, and above all, Lanier's great charm lies in the personality revealed in all he did. His character was, in itself, a poem. The challenge in his *Stirrup Cup* is the challenge of chivalrous courage. *My Springs* shows the heart of the man; and the touching little song, *The Trees and the Master*, reveals in an intimate way the allegiance of his soul:

Into the woods my Master went,
 Clean forspent, forspent.
 Into the woods my Master came,

Forspent with love and shame.
But the olives they were not blind to Him,
The little gray leaves were kind to Him,
The thorn-tree had a mind to Him
When into the woods he came.

Out of the woods my Master went,
And he was well content.
Out of the woods my Master came,
Content with death and shame.
When death and shame would woo Him last,
From under the trees they drew Him last:
'Twas on a tree they slew Him—last
When out of the woods He came.

Yet in all these there is the note of immaturity. The fulness of time had not come. It is given the soul of man to find freedom in two ways. The way through art Lanier had well-nigh found, when death opened to him the other path, and obedient to the mightier summons, he took his journey into that far country, leaving us, in the record of what is, the glorious promise of what might have been.

Some Aspects of American Place Names

EARL L. BRADSHAW

Instructor in English in the University of Texas

The names of Indian derivation in the United States have been somewhat carefully investigated by a number of writers, but those from European and native white sources have received scant attention. The greatest English investigator of place names has dismissed the entire country in a few paragraphs, as having a story of but little interest. It is quite true that the names given in the United States by the settlers of European descent have few stories to tell that are of value to the philologist. The ethnologist finds them equally unsuggestive.

As one glances through any complete gazetteer he must be impressed with the apparent chaos that dominates American names. But while the field is far indeed from being so rich as is that of European countries, where names can be traced back for centuries and made to shed a flood of light upon the civilizations of the lands in which they occur, yet American names are not without interest as a study in the history, the geography, the social customs, and the psychology of the people of our country.

From the generalizations which are attempted here, a large class of names, those derived from persons, may be, with a few exceptions, dismissed. In England, Germany, and parts of France, the largest number of place names are those of men. Something distinctive of race or time is usually prefixed or suffixed however, and the appellation is of interest to the ethnologist and to the historian. *-Ton*, *-tun*, *-ley*, *-den*, *-thorpe*, *pen*, *lan*, *-law*, *-by*, *-fleet*,—these and many others so often found in British names have each their tale to tell. All these and more may be found in American names, but, if they convey any information, it is that the language was no longer in a fluid state when they were applied; and the ignorance of their true meaning on the part of the name giver is patent at a glance. Infelicities of other sorts abound. *Worcester* marks the sight of no camp. *Oxford* is far from any stream. *Boston*

never grew around a real *ton*. *Mount Crawford* is an impossibility. *Norfolk* is south of *Sussex*. The *Isle of Wight*, a Virginia county, is not an island. But the instance of philological infelicities are innumerable. Some of this class of names may impart occasionally a chronological lesson; but even that is rare.

These names however are in the eastern part of the United States. When they were applied, the settlers were European in culture and sentiment. They were really reproducing beloved connotative names from beyond the ocean. The American mind was yet non-existent. The older states along the Atlantic seaboard seem peculiarly poverty stricken in the matter of nomenclature. New England is especially conspicuous in this respect. Almost every little village must divide its insignificance with a North, South, East or West variation of itself or with a Center, and in some cases there are several varieties.

Rash indeed would be the assertion that our newer states do not abound in repeated, ugly, and infelicitous names. But that a true American nomenclature began to make itself progressively felt as the immigrant pushed his way ever westward, it is one of the purposes of this article to show.

Indeed the American begins to assert himself in this matter even in the original thirteen states. *Run*, *creek*, and *fork*, while they are Anglo-Saxon derivatives, are American in their application. *Run* we find in Virginia, and it is puzzling to note that in spite of the flood tide of Virginia immigration westward into a land of streams it dies out early, while the other two persist undiminished. However a careful examination of English dialects in the seventeenth century would probably clear up the matter. *Branch* is another word that loses its relative importance as it progresses westward from New England, where it is most frequently found, leaving *fork* and *creek* in control. *Wash*, a new expression not found elsewhere, with the same meaning at least, arises in Arizona. In English place names, *wash* is applied to the flats by the sea which the tides alternately bare and submerge. However the American term is in effect probably an entirely new coinage which shows the national instinct for accuracy and its appre-

ciation of vigor. In the region where the name occurs, the strong declivity down which the wash rushed combined with the torrential mountain rains, when rain did occur, to produce the marked abrasion which we associate with one of the primary meanings of the word. The expression does not however possess the field, for it occurs side by side with the older *creek*. Pueblo Colorado Wash, with Cotton Creek, is a tributary of Leroux Wash.

As the human wave sweeps westward, the immigrant ceases to be European and becomes American in his names. His brethren, left behind in the older states of the East, may feel all those subtle influences that mould a national consciousness out of the most heterogeneous material; they may be as American in spirit as the last assertive community of yesterday, but they will show it little in their place names. Those have, with few exceptions, been fixed with them long ago.

The modes of travel of these immigrants, the fauna and the flora which they encountered, the occupations in which they engaged, their social and political interests, the sense of romance and poetry which they possessed in all too little measure—these things become increasingly evident as we recede from an America once colonial in spirit to an America which has felt only a few of the mightier impulses from over the seas. Picturesqueness their life had in full measure. Civilizations, French, Spanish, and American, struggle in some parts for nomenclatural supremacy. The stone age clashes with the age of steel. The tragedy of the struggle with a land where death lurked in nature's grimness is revealed, and the equal tragedy of a pitiless struggle with a merciless foe.

The first great movement from the older states westward followed the easy channels of water courses. The movement was so dominantly along rather than across these streams and so universally effected by boat that comparatively few place names ending in *-ford* are to be found. The contrast between the United States and England in this respect is striking. In the latter country, smaller, more fordable streams flowing in every direction combined with immigration that trended toward every point of the compass to produce this difference. Moreover in England the word *ford* was formerly synony-

mous with *stream*, a meaning which apparently was never brought to America. On the other hand, the relative number of bridges is greater with us than in England. A more primitive civilization during the period of English name giving is thereby indicated. Long before man had acquired the skill to erect bridges, and the social and commercial instincts to make use of them, he had ascertained the fordable places in his locality. The American could make almost anything with his ever-present long-handled ax; he had, as a rule, larger streams to cross; his family was with him, and he desired to retain communication with the older civilization. This is true after he had passed from the hunter-trapper stage to that of the settler, at least. Therefore from the first, unlike the British cousin, he named his crossings *bridges*.

It is well at this juncture to point out one of the dangers which besets the study of American names. It is often impossible to tell whether a name is indigenous or merely repeated from the British Isles to America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. For example there are various Bridgewaters in the United States. How many of them come, at various removes, from Bridgewater, England? However, while specific instances may be doubtful there is converging evidence enough in all cases to make generalizations accurate.

The high degree of civilization on the part of the American settler as compared with that of the British has resulted, as a rule, in the names of the former fitting the topography of the country less accurately. Many were determined by the location of the railroads, which, while in general following the lines of least resistance, did not slowly and sinuously adapt themselves to the minor features of forest and plain and valley, river and hill, as did the streams of Celt and Saxon and Dane in the British Isles. Another entirely new nomenclatural influence, but in this case fitting enough, is found in the steam-boat. One must be struck by the large number of *landings* which dot the banks of such navigable American rivers as flowed through populous territory before the era of railroad construction.

The number of *ferries* is small, partly for the same reason that has been given for the scarcity of *fords*, but largely be-

cause the influence of another language must be taken into account. When the Anglo-Saxon wave rolling westward reached the Mississippi, it came into contact with the French influence which had already preceded it. The French of this region were nomadic in habit, as attested by the universal prevalence of the phrase *courieur de bois*. Across rivers and lakes they had penetrated to the most remote fastnesses in their insatiable search for adventure and furs. They infused their blood and their language into the native tribes. Wherever barter and war led them and their savage allies, they left their memorial on river and lake in the numerous portages, as for example, Portage des Sioux, Missouri. The word was not difficult or unknown to the Anglo-Saxon and he retained it, building indeed curious hybrids upon it.

It is along the rivers especially that another frequent American name occurs in the word *mount*. The repeated appearance of this word betrays the love of the Anglo-Saxon for a free, wide outlook, and the necessity of being on a natural point of vantage, in what was also usually less densely forested ground, from which he might better ward off the attack of the lurking Indian, and prevent a surprise. But there is a deeper and more prevalent reason for the number of *mounts* that dot the courses of our streams as names of cultural and of natural features. History is but repeating herself. When the givers of most existing names came to the British Isles a steaming, miasmatic bog of wooded valley reeked along the water courses. It was difficult to penetrate, and, above all, dangerous to health. The settlers therefore occupied the hills, downs, and moors where some hard stratum stood above the low mist and offered frequent glades and natural fortifications. The same thing happened in America. If the pioneers, having attained a higher degree of civilization, were more capable of successfully combating their dangers, they were also more alive to them, and the total movement of the two countries was about the same. The first settlers of parts of Ohio, Indiana, and of those localities near the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers sought the hills and bluffs, the *mounts* as they frequently called them, leaving the more fertile alluvial bottoms to be taken by later settlers, usually in the Middle-West of Dutch

or German descent. Little towns have sprung up in some places with names from these languages which, because of greater economic possibilities, bid fair to leave more enduring traces upon our nomenclature than many of the older ones of British derivation.

The number of Dutch and German names, and indeed those of all other languages than English, in this country however is strikingly small in proportion to the influence that other nations have exerted in the upbuilding of the land. The reason is obvious. After the first influx of German, Dutch, Swedish, and French immigrants into the colonies of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina there comes a long interval before it is renewed. During this interval British nomenclature has established itself in the territory to the west. Indeed in this less fraternal age race hostility causes many names to be changed to English: New Amsterdam is today New York; Fort Oranien is Albany. When a new movement takes place, as it does with all except the French, the country is already occupied and named. The dominant race is the name giver, and in this country, except in restricted localities, that race has always been of British descent. The future historian of our ethnology may employ the resources of name dissection almost in vain in his attempt to ascertain the immense influence exerted on our civilization by two peoples—the Hebrews and the Italians. These are late comers, and above all, they have been urban in their habits. A few city streets may in the future betray their presence, but few examples will exist of names of cities and of villages; and of those of natural features, there will be hardly a trace.

When immigrants first arrived in this country they met what was in a large measure a new fauna and a new flora. Even many of the animals and the vegetation to which they had been accustomed in the British Isles must have appeared in a different guise in untamed America. One might naturally expect then that on the Atlantic seaboard they would commemorate in place names what was so new and striking. Such, in general, is not the case. The European, newly arrived, was prone to look upon himself as an exile, for one reason or another, and to attempt to bring back scenes and faces across the

sea by transferred names. The further west he penetrated however the more did he take nomenclatural cognizance of the fauna and the flora around him.

We are accustomed to read that the earliest colonists in Virginia found the cultivation of tobacco highly profitable, and other colonies were not slow in taking it up. In spite of this fact, however, the word enters into only four names in the United States, and of these one only is east of the Appalachians. It is perhaps best at this juncture to warn the reader that any exact number is apt to be contradicted by the next gazetteer. American nomenclature, especially on the cultural side, is not yet a fixed quantity. What seems to be an example of the attempt to retain English memories in this country is found in the occurrence of the word *heath* in the original thirteen colonies. Heather, the Scotch form for the name of the plant so beloved by the Scotchman, appears not to occur, and the English form, which may possibly be a personal name, fails to maintain itself in the West. The word *heath* of course has the other meaning of a cheerless tract of country. Our nearest approach to this meaning is found in some of the varied applications of the word *prairie*. The word is not found east of the Appalachians. This is not due to topography alone, for as it is a French word, it is but an example of French influence in the Mississippi Valley and of the racial struggle for nomenclatural supremacy of which more will be said later.

In English names the tree which occurs most frequently—over two hundred times—is the ash. In this country the number of *ash* derivatives is large, but the oak easily heads the list with some 180 names, while in England it is but a close second to the ash and about on a par with the thorn. In the latest and most complete gazetteer, the walnut occurs 53 times; the birch 9; hickory, 42; pine, 152; and the maple about 60 times. Roughly speaking, the forester could draw a tree map of the United States from the place names into which these trees enter. The small number of birch names is accounted for by its habit of growing in infertile, unsalubrious, and inconspicuous places and not by its rarity or by its lack of what we may call individual beauty. The pine occurs over the entire country. Its evergreen foliage attracts attention, and its lumber is an important

article of commerce. Hence its prevalence in our names. The occurrence of the oak in groves where homes might be established under its protection, its economic value, and the appeal of its sturdiness to an Anglo-Saxon people unite to make it head the list. The cottonwoods that line the banks of many of our streams have given us fifteen names. As a conspicuous tree along the natural channels of communication, it would have figured more frequently were it not for the tendency mentioned above of avoiding the immediate stream valley.

Cultivated plants occur, but infrequently as compared with those of natural growth. Wheat appears twenty-two times with other doubtful forms, while corn is found only three times, with one or two doubtful cases. If one may venture a reason for this striking difference in favor of the less widely grown cereal, it is probably to be found in the American sense of beauty so seldom exerted. Corn has found its singer in a celebrated American poet while wheat is yet to be worthily commemorated, but nevertheless few will deny that a wheat field of golden grain, billowing to the wind, is both a more conspicuous and a more beautiful sight than a cornfield.

When we turn from the flora to the fauna there are some striking similarities. What the American mind desired was the striking and the conspicuous. It found these qualities exemplified most abundantly in the elk; and in place names derived from animals *elk* leads with 119 entries. The smaller, less striking but more prevalent deer occurs only about 60 times, and perhaps some of these are personal names. The buffalo, because of his restricted haunts, figures about 45 times only, and part may be repetitions from Buffalo, New York. Panther occurs 6 times; duck, 20; squirrel, 5; coon, 9; raccoon, 14; and eagle about 60. But alas for "Brer Rabbit," he has been raised to gazetteer immortality but twice, while Oppossum Creek, Pennsylvania, alone promises to save the name of this uniquely American animal to posterity. "Mr. Possum" is altogether too shrinkingly modest and too sleepy to appeal to the sense of grandeur and of hustle which the American mind tries to express frequently in its nomenclature. The moose would have been a successful rival of the elk had its range been more extended. Place names into which it enters

occur quite frequently in the extreme northeast, and in Canada they abound. Another name that has sharply defined regional occurrence is the *antelope* which does not appear east of Kansas.

As a whole, in the United States there are not proportionately so many names drawn from the flora as in England. The settlers were more civilized with us, and their intellectual resources were wider. On the contrary, the number of names from animals is greater in this country. This apparent contradiction can be accounted for when we stop to consider the westward progress of our civilization. In the vanguard were men who were professionally interested in the animal life of the country, the hunters and the trappers. They gave many place names, naturally from those things which interested them most. Even when the permanent settler arrived, he was deeply interested in the game of the region, for it formed a large part of his food. These tendencies combined to produce the unusually large number of names derived from animals.

In addition to game, the settler, when he penetrated into the wilderness of the eastern half of the United States, had in corn his second staple of food. The numerous rivers that flow from the slopes of the Appalachian gave him a good chance to grind his corn, and mill sites were eagerly sought. One has but to glance at the strikingly large number of names derived from some form of the word *mill* to appreciate the profound influence upon civilization which the mill has exerted. *Lippincott's Gazetteer* has about 350 entries which belong to the civilization that has emanated from the British Isles. Some 300 of these names are American. Mill Creeks, Millstones, and Milltowns are in superabundance. Of course a large number of names into which the word enters are personal or repeated.

The rambler along the eastern slope of the Appalachians is impressed with the eagerness with which every site for a small mill was seized and occupied by the first settlers. Now, in many cases, only a heap of stones marks their former location. They tell a stage in our civilization—the primitive days when steam was unutilized and when wheat and, above all, corn were not supplemented or supplanted by steam-borne foodstuffs from the end of the earth. In these days steam may create

a mill anywhere, producing lace or armor plate; but the majority of our *mill* names are in the region indicated, and the lesson is plain.

Outside the indication from *mill*, the status and the occupation of the American is shown but little. He had no fixed status. His curse, all too frequently, was that he had no occupation to which he gave the devotion of years. If this failed one year, why, then, next year that might be tried; or just as frequently he attempted several vocations at the same time. The natural result is that our country is singularly devoid of names indicating status or occupation. One has but to examine a European country which has passed through a feudal stage with fixed social classes to appreciate this. However, whatever else an American settler may have been he was too generally an agriculturist not to have left this on record. We accordingly find that *farmer* enters into almost one hundred names, some of course personal or repeated but many of direct occupational application.

When the settler was no longer a British subject and had progressed some distance in the development of American traits we find that his desire to reproduce British place names is dying. He does not, however, become quite the isolated provincial some critics have accused him of being. His interest in the great movements of international politics begins to show itself. It does not become prominent until after he has crossed the Appalachians and not until the nineteenth century. The interest in the great Napoleonic wars is shown in the occurrence of Waterloo twenty-one times. The large majority are in those states of the Middle-West where names were being most freely given from 1815 to about 1840. Only once, it is worth while to note, does the name occur west of Nebraska. As Waterloo (disputed derivation) is not Anglo-Saxon we feel sure that it is a direct echo of the famous battle and in no way indigenous. Some of these names may have been given by immigrants who had but newly arrived from Europe, however. The six Sedans are where one would chronologically expect them. When a name is apparently out of its proper geographical place, as the Sedan of West Virginia, it is almost always small, and in a place which, because of lack of easy

communication and of promise of economic importance, was settled late. Sebastopol (1854-55) perpetuates itself in California, Illinois, and Mississippi. Of the six Gladstones, only one is outside of Michigan on the east and North Dakota on the west and none south of the Mason and Dixon line. The American seized upon great names and great occurrences, but they soon passed from his attention.

Not only do great names of political significance interest him but literary ones also, and in one case they help us to read his political and perhaps his moral and his spiritual bias. Milton was in the case of the pioneer undoubtedly the best known of writers as witnessed by the large number of times his name occurs. Its prevalence as a place name points to the time at which the separation of the two great English speaking peoples occurred, but even more significantly does it indicate that the American people were in substantial sympathy with Puritanism and with the doctrine of liberty which he so effectively advocated. It is worthy of passing notice that the word *liberty* occurs seventy times in the United States and extremely infrequently in Canada, where *Milton* (as a Puritan and a poet) occurs comparatively as frequently as with us. Shakespeare fell into as complete obscurity with our name givers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as he did with the mass of British readers of parts of those periods. Lippincott gives but one entry for him, and that is in Ontario, Canada. Dickens occurs three times, with one entry for Pickwick. Scott appears frequently, but it is impossible to tell how many are personal and what percentage are directly due to Sir Walter; Waverly, Ivanhoe (6), Rob Roy (2), and Lochinvar in the proper chronological places point to his vogue however. Byron appears ten times to Tennyson's one. Browning is repeated five times, but almost assuredly some of them are not from the poet, and perhaps all. Where one would hardly suspect it, the settlers of the Middle-West and West had literary idols.

Poetry, even, occasionally occurs, the insistent call of the beautiful making itself heard in a hostile wilderness in spite of daily exhausting struggle for bread in the face of death. New Hope, Lovelady, Loveland, Lovelocks, Peach Blow, Star

of the West, and the name of many a wife or sweetheart point to a sense of romance and of poetry. It is significant of the development of the national mind that nearly all of these occur in the Mississippi Valley or west of it.

But the most insistent note in the life of the American pioneer, especially in those parts of the country where he came least into contact with the other European languages, and thus revealed himself most fully as a name giver, is that of tragedy. This ever present feeling of the uncertainty of their existence was more and more relieved as they spread westward by another striking quality of the American people, that is humor.

If one were required to point out specifically a few states in which most is revealed by place names of that which has characterized American pioneer life of by-gone days and remains the American spirit of the present, he would select Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming. When these states were occupied, our nation had become a fairly homogeneous people. It had settled the greatest question which had yet faced it. Those intangible influences which mould a nation had been at work long enough for the acquirement of a national spirit. Here the struggle for a footing has been keener than in any other part of the United States, since the days when it was finally decided at Jamestown and at Plymouth that in America the white man should dominate. The Indians of this territory were peculiarly powerful and savage. Nature showed herself in her most unrelenting moods of drouth, heat, and conquering cold. Froze to Death Creek, Killed Woman Creek, Skinned Man Gulch, No Water Creek, Hills where the Crows were Killed, Wounded Knee Creek, Dead Indian Creek,—these are but a few of the many names fraught with tragedy which occur in such abundance in these four states. Savage men and equally savage nature united to impress upon the settler the uncertainty of his fate. He seems to have met his enemies with humor, sometimes grim, which comes out in such names as Lou Lou Fork, Hell Gate River, Big Nose Geo's (village). He perpetuates his large tolerance (another form of his saving sense of humor) in such a name, for instance, as Glen('s) dive.

It is worthy of note that most of the names just given are of natural features, rather than of cultural ones. When a man names a town, he is frequently too deeply impressed with the gravity of the occasion and the future greatness of the teeming metropolis is all too apparent to him, but when he names a range of hills or some insignificant creek, he is his own natural self, altogether off his guard. The student then who desires to study the psychology of the American through his place names will do well to devote most of his time to the names of the natural features. Occasionally, however, the early settler must have been amused at his own grandiloquence. Ash Hill, Klondike, Siberia, Bagdad, Amboy, Bengal, Cadiz, and Siam on one stretch of railroad—not over forty miles in length in a parched, semi-tropical part of southern California—must have excited the amusement of the name givers.

The vastness of the continent and the remarkable speed with which it was occupied coupled with the tragic consequences of mistakes in distance has introduced into our nomenclature a system of names not found apparently in any other country—those names which indicate distance accurately. 88 Mile Post, 16 Mile Creek, 20 Mile Creek, and Nine Mile Valley are examples.

Perhaps one of the most striking examples of the sense of peril in a new country and also of something not yet dealt with, the conflict of civilizations, occurs in northeastern Arizona in the Navajo and the Moqui Indian reservations. The majority of names which have established themselves in this country upon our best maps are Indian. Numerous springs are part Indian and part Anglo-Saxon, the generic part of the name (spring) being the latter. The country is arid, one might say a desert in former years. There was not a complete translation of the names, because often the American did not understand what the Indian word meant and it was not essential that he should; but it was often a matter of life and death in these sun-baked stretches that the term *spring*, a source of water supply, he fixed firmly in mind. There are several pools in this region without apparently in any case an Indian name prefixed. The Indians resorted to the primeval, unartificial

springs for water, but not to the pools. They directed the whites to the springs and gave them their specific names.

It has been pointed out that in England the names of large rivers are generally Celtic and only the smaller ones Teutonic. The cause underlying this has been in active operation here in America also. The majority of the names of our large rivers are taken from the Indians, the aboriginal inhabitants, as are also those of most of our states and a large number of mountains and mountain ranges. The American settler was above all concerned with the rivers as easy channels of travel when flowing in the right direction or great obstacles when not, as places where land was fertile and wood, water, and game plentiful. He inquired for them of the Indians, and long before he had ever seen them their Indian names were familiar and ready to be applied at sight. De Soto, for instance, heard of a "great river" (Cree *missi*, great and *sepe*, water or river) to the west. He translated the term (as has happened in the case of other rivers) into *Rio Grande*. The Indian name was re-established and fixed in the maps of the world by the French. The suffixion of the term *river* is one of those repetitions to be found in every country where one language has been supplanted by another. The river Wansbeck water in England, for instance, presents an agglomeration of four or possibly five repetitions. There is nothing quite so complicated in this country, for the number of supplanting languages has been much smaller; but repetitions arising through ignorance of the first language are on every hand. It is hardly worth while to note that the states received their names from the rivers rather than *vice versa*. Their borders were artificial, intangible, and unessential to the newcomers. As the pioneers moved westward they came ever into closer intellectual contact with the Indians and retained an increasing number of their names. Their enlarging understanding of the Indians led them in some cases to retain aboriginal names along beside their own, as in Planata Wakpa Ree or Grand River of South Dakota, for example. But into the conflict of languages, it is not the purpose of this article to enter minutely, involving as it does, such an amount of material, Indian, French, Spanish, and (in Alaska) Russian. The post office and the map tend powerfully

to preserve the spelling, and to some extent pronunciation. But this latter is daily departing more widely from the spelling, and in a short time, linguistically speaking, our names of non-Saxon origin seem destined to present some of the remarkable divorces between spelling and pronunciation that we associate with those of England.

By English authorities we have been accused of showing an inherent tendency towards the sordid and the ugly in our place names. Such interpretations are founded upon insufficient observation. Save perhaps in the eastern part of our country, American names are as vigorous, accurate, and picturesque, as well fitted to time, place, and people as are the names of probably any country, and certainly those of England. Repetitions there are in large numbers. But what country does not have them? The sordid and the ugly are all too prevalent, but no country has escaped. Historical, racial, and biotic accuracy and fullness, humor and pathos, the revelation of national ideals and aspirations—these necessary nomenclatural qualities our place names have in sufficient measure.

The Poetical Technique of Coleridge

GILBERT COSULICH

West Des Moines High School, Iowa.

Although Buffon has said that the style is the man himself, it shall be our endeavor to confine the present general study to manner rather than to matter. We will not quarrel with the poet's dejection nor with his extreme verbosity in expressing it: we will not even pause to trace the slow upward and downward slopes of his poetic power, with the too narrow crest between! Except for a smile, as we pass on, at the trite diction and the crowded epithets, let us be even technically lenient with his *juvenilia*. His *senilia* deserve less kindness. In youth, it was necessary that he write himself up: in age, it was decidedly not necessary that he write himself down.

Let us focus our attention on a few examples of his metrical skill; on some lines strikingly illustrative of his poetic excellences and shortcomings; and, lastly, on a number of passages that reveal his heavy debt to Shakespeare.

Coleridge was undoubtedly a master of prosody. He seems especially happy in his choice of line lengths to convey a mood. Witness the lyricism of the tetrameter couplets in the invocation at the conclusion of the first *Monody*, following as they do the slower pentameter verses:

O Spirit blest!
Whether th' eternal Throne around,
Amidst the blaze of cherubim,
Thou pourest forth the grateful hymn,
Or, soaring through the blest Domain,
Enraptur'est Angels with thy strain,—
Grant me, like thee, the lyre to sound,
Like thee, with fire divine to glow—
But ah! when rage the Waves of Woe

We find perhaps even greater felicity in the "damsel with a dulcimer" passage near the end of *Kubla Khan*, where the vision within the vision is literally a gem inlaid by means of a shorter meter. Notice also the bird-like effect of the closing lines of Glycine's song in *Zapolya*:

Sweet month of May,
We must away;
Far, far away;
To-day! to-day!

The opening simile in *Love's Apparition and Eavanishment* and the dirge in the third act of *Osorio* furnish other instances of well-manipulated line movement. If we add to all this the rapid narrative lilt of the *Ancient Mariner* and the formal perfection of his odes, we shall need no further evidence of the poet's mastery of meter craft.

His phrasing is generally good. One could scarcely question the poetic quality of such lines as:

Force from Famine the caress of Love.
O aged women! ye who weekly catch
The morsel tossed by law-forced charity,
And die so slowly, that none call it murder!

With heavy thump, a lifeless lump.

Listen to the echo in this:

GOD! let the torrents, like a shout of nations,
Answer! and let the ice plains, echo, GOD!
Hymn before Sunrise, in the Vale of Chamouni, 11. 58-59.

Then there is that epic peroration to the same poem:—

Rise, O ever rise,
Rise like a cloud of incense from the Earth,
Thou Kingly Spirit throned among the hills,
Thou dread ambassador from Earth to Heaven,
Great Hierarch! tell thou the silent sky,
And tell the stars, and tell yon rising sun
Earth, with her thousand voices, praises GOD.

Finally, we must not forget the fine Biblical flavor of *The Wanderings of Cain*:

And the innocent little child clasped a finger of the hand which had murdered the righteous Abel, and he guided his father . . .

I climb a tree yesterday at noon, O my father, that I might play with them, but they leaped away from the branches, even to the slender twigs did they leap, and in a moment I beheld them on another tree . . .

Then the child Enos lifted up his eyes and prayed; but Cain rejoiced secretly in his heart.

But since Coleridge was not a poet of sustained power, we must be prepared for many lapses, only few of which we will stop to consider. In *Moriens Superstiti*, the dying man gazes on his wife, and is saddened at the thought of her approaching widowhood. Tender lines, these; far too tender to conclude with "Alas! I quit a life of pleasure." (But we forget: "pleasure" rimes with "treasure"!) *Christabel* is marred in the very beginning by at least three poor lines:

To—whit!—Tu—whoo.

Close on the heels of this excellent Mother Goose verse, follow two lines the unconscious childishness of which can hardly be matched in English poetry:

Is the night chilly and dark?
The night is chilly, but not dark.

When the offspring of Mathilda's genius bring rosebuds and fruit-blossoms as "quit-rent of their lodging," we wonder why the poet has failed to supply a notary to draw up the lease.

Coleridge was excessively fond of italics. As we have extended an amnesty in favor of *juvenilia*, we will not censure too severely that last line of Genevieve:

And *therefore* love I you, sweet Genevieve!

But twenty years later, when Coleridge was old enough to know better, in the fifty-line poem "To Two Sisters," he made use of this feminine device six times. In one line alone there are three italicized words:

So like you they, and so in you were seen.

This mannerism is so apparent that it were scarcely profitable to catalogue other instances. Finally, his translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein* contains at least two very noticeable tonal slumps, brought about by the injudicious use of contractions. The plea of *causa metri* can scarcely be set up in defense of the following:

He'll not dance
To every tune of every minister.
It goes against his nature—he can't do it.
The Piccolomini I, iv., 28-30.

Or of this:

No! Here is yet
Some frightful mystery that is hidden from me.
Why does my sister shun me? Don't I see her
Full of suspense and anguish roam about
From room to room?—Art thou not full of terror?

The Death of Wallenstein I. xii. 1-5.

Besides such direct quotations as "Which patient Merit of the Unworthy takes" (*To a Young Ass*, line 12) and "'Tis pitiful, 'tis passing pitiful" (*Count Rumford*, line 8), the writings of Coleridge show the powerful influence of Shakespeare on the poet's thought and style. Let us consider a few instances.

His brow, like a pent-house, hung over his eyes.

—*The Raven*, line 25.

(With your hat penthouse-like o'er the shop of your eyes.)

—*Love's Labour Lost*, III. i. 17, (circa).

(Sleep . . . hang upon his pent-house lid)

—*Macbeth*, I. iii. 20.

That strain again!

—*The Nightingale*, line 90.

. . . That last strain dying . . .

—*To a Gentleman*, line 48.

(That strain again, it had a dying fall.)

—*Twelfth Night*, I. i. 4.

Then with a statue's smile . . .

Stands the mute sister, Patience . . .

—*Love, Hope, and Patience in Education*, lines 23-24.

(She sat like Patience on a monument,

Smiling at grief.)

—*Twelfth Night*, II. iv. 117-8.

In the dramatic works of Coleridge are to be found a number of other examples. Othello's famous "Fool! fool! fool!" immortalized by Kean, is echoed in *Remorse*, II. i. 129. Laska's deliberation with his conscience, in *Zapolya*, is very similar to Launcelot Gobbo's:

Call this (*looking at the purse*)

Preferment; this (*holding up the key*) Fidelity!

And first my golden goddess: what bids she?

* * * * *

But what says the other? Whisper on! I hear you!

* * * * *

. . . Then—yonder lies the road
For Laska and his royal friend, King Emerick.

—*Zapolya*, III. i. 66-83.

My conscience says, Launcelot, budge not: budge, says the fiend;
budge not, says my conscience . . . I will run, fiend; my heels are
at your commandment, I will run.—*Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 19-33
(*circa*).

Coleridge handles the comparison of the two brothers in his
chief drama, *Remorse*, much in the same way strongly remin-
iscent of Hamlet's familiar "counterfeit presentment" speech.

I would call up before thine eyes the image
Of my betrothed Alvar . . .
. . . . his kingly forehead,
. . . . his commanding eye.
. . . Place, place beside him
Ordonio's dark perturbed countenance!

—*Remorse*, IV. ii. 49-68.

Look here upon this picture . . .
. . . . the front of Jove himself;
An eye . . . to threaten and command.
. . . Look you now what follows.

—*Hamlet*, III. iv. 53-63.

There is still greater point of resemblance between *Remorse*
and *Hamlet*. The incantation and the illuminated picture, de-
signed to "rouse a fiery whirlwind in his conscience," is ob-
viously patterned after Hamlet's play "to catch the conscience
of the King." The murderer's terror and frenzied exit are
both there.

A poet who began too early and finished too late, Coleridge
stands responsible for more chaff than grain. Wherein he
skimmed the empyrean, wherein his work is a mere exercise
in versification, are questions that do not properly belong to a
discussion of technique. Yet if we were forced to an estimate,
we might well hesitate to rank with the very greatest poets of
England a bard that so rarely reached or sustained the loftiest
poetic heights.

BOOK REVIEWS

CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN HISTORY, 1877-1913. By Charles A. Beard.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914.

In common with most teachers of American history and government Professor Beard has found among students an astonishing amount of ignorance concerning the simplest facts of the history of the United States since the period of Civil War and Reconstruction. In order to remedy this deficiency, or at least to do away with the excuse that there is no comprehensive text-book on the subject, he has written this new work.

The book shows many of the features common to the other later products of Professor Beard's facile pen. It is brilliant, clever, and stimulating but shows undoubted signs of hasty preparation and is not always logical or clear in the arrangement of material. I fear that the first third of the book will prove difficult for the average student, but the author gains both in strength and clearness as he proceeds and the remainder of the work undoubtedly will not only show successful results in the class room but also more than overbalance the earlier deficiencies. One of the best chapters in the book is that devoted to "Imperialism" (chapter VIII) which gives a scholarly and able though brief treatment of the Venezuelan controversy in 1895 and of the Spanish War and the political and legal questions arising therefrom. The description of the process of "stock watering" (p. 229-237), the character sketch of the late Mark Hanna (p. 239-246) and the summary of Mr. Roosevelt's activities as President (p. 263-264) are masterly. Professor Beard is very tender in his treatment of Mr. Bryan, placing a higher estimate upon his ability and his political activities than do most scholars of today, but he is very fair toward Mr. Taft, Mr. Roosevelt and President Wilson.

This book by no means is intended merely for text-book use but should prove even of more value to the general reader. Professor Beard rightly says:—"It is showing no disrespect to our ancestors to be as much interested in our age as they were in theirs; and the doctrine that we can know more about Andrew Jackson whom we have not seen than about Theodore

Roosevelt whom we have seen is a pernicious psychological error" (Preface, p. 6).

While no person will agree at all points with Professor Beard, especially in his more radical moments, yet the reader of this volume must feel that he owes the author a debt of gratitude for thus stimulating an intelligent interest in our national problems of the present day. The great regret is, that he did not delay the publication for six months or a year in order more thoroughly to work over and arrange his material and also to include yet one more chapter,—a chapter giving the author's judgment of the first year of President Wilson's administration.

WILLIAM STARR MYERS.

Princeton University.

EUROPEAN DRAMATISTS. By Archibald Henderson. Cincinnati: Stewart & Kidd Company. 1913. 395 pp.

In the literature of our day the force of greatest energy is the drama. Its turn has come again. No literature—restricting the word to the forms in which art dominates—is essentially an inventor of new philosophic systems, or is exclusively charged with relating newly conceived truth to the conduct of life. Such dealing with the ideas which transform life has always been the function of literature in its widest possible sense, a definition including all serious communication of thought, from scientific treatise and philosophic speculation to leading article and popular lecture. But each literature, in the narrower and proper sense, which has possessed immediate or permanent validity has always reflected or illuminated the best thinking of its period. That is the case with the best contemporary drama. A book that seeks to offer an intelligent interpretation of this drama is therefore welcome; doubly welcome if it can stimulate a desire for significant American drama: for America holds as yet no rank in drama. Welcome to a book obviously does not imply complete acceptance of doctrine; it does imply recognition of sincerity and of ability.

Professor Henderson has written a book full of ideas and faults,—far fewer faults than ideas. In the main the faults

are those of expression, so far as these can be distinguished from faults of thought. To deal with these matters at once:—The reader of the opening paragraph of the essay on Strindberg, although he would acknowledge his complete error on reading the whole essay, might well be excused if he deemed the writing to be that form of sheer dulness which is so thinly disguised by sensationalism. I quote the first three sentences:

The supreme goal of the great literature of our era has been and remains the expression, in some form of final artistic denouement, of the struggle of the ego at self-realization. This recurrent note in the eternal symphony of life rings out again and again in the authentic, harmonic intuitions of the supermen of contemporary thought, philosophy and art. This dionysian searching after the divine in the human, this headlong struggle for the exaltation of the individual soul to the heights of superhuman conquest and super-moral ethics, is the sign-manual of the daemonic dissonance and spiritual chaos of to-day.

Doubtless this is defensible, but an advocate does well not to put himself immediately on the defensive. In order to test the statement fairly, the reader inclines to translate it into less jewelled phrase (will this serve?)—"a constantly recurring note in the great writing of today, and one that is characteristic of the confused ideals of our time, is the insistence on self-realization." Transposed into this lower key, the statement perhaps does not challenge objection. Florid sentences of the kind adduced appear with some frequency; a rigorous pen should strike through them. Other faults of style annoy a sympathetic reader: a rather precise use of adjectives (clamant, riant, larymoyant, for example); the throwing of a qualification into an illogical adverb ("Salome belongs erotically to the school of" for "belongs to the erotic school of"); and the unnecessary sprinkling of French words. Proof-reader's errors are too frequent (Mirabeau for Mirbeau is unfortunate) and other small slips occur. One lays stress on these various carelessnesses, for the simple reason that the author has good things to say and in future books may say them more acceptably by realizing that over-emphasis is not emphatic.

The book contains six essays, those on Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Wilde, and Shaw having appeared in a volume now out of print. The essay on Barker has appeared in a periodical;

that on Strindberg is new. So far as real importance is concerned, an essay on Hauptmann might have replaced the one on Wilde, since Wilde can in no serious sense be counted a positive force in modern thought. As is natural, in view of the writer's authority as biographer of Bernard Shaw, the essay on Shaw is the most valuable of the group. The chapter summarizing Shaw's early career is admirable, both in substance and in statement. The discussion of Shaw's significance, less as playwright than as disseminator of ideas in dramatic form, is sound at bottom and usually lucid. In the discussion, however, of Shaw's campaign of disillusionment (pp. 351-354), the logical reader fails either through lack of clearness in the essayist's interpretation or through inherent weakness of the position assumed, to be convinced that the chosen position is tenable. "Shaw sees that progress is possible only through the persistent discovery of mistaken conceptions of life and of society." Therefore he fights against "those individual and social illusions—treacherous, ensnaring, destructive,—" such, for instance, as "romance" (*Man and Superman*), "duty" (*Candida*), "subsidized religion" (*Major Barbara*). Well and good: the validity of the conceptions is a perennial subject for attack and defence. But Shaw's fight "is not against the optimistic and progressive illusions, those indispensable modes of cloaking reality which possess the power to awake man's helpful interest and to inspire his best efforts." What may these illusions be? Those of socialism, it appears; the illusions that "the laborer is always a model of thrift and sobriety, while the capitalist is a tyrant, an assassin, and a scoundrel!" If this indeed be Shaw's position, what does the whole controversy boil down to but the well-worn notion that orthodoxy is my doxy and heterodoxy the other man's doxy? If the distinction, however, lies in using an illusion in full knowledge of its character, and in being slave to an illusion in ignorance, then the point should have been made absolutely clear.

The pages on Strindberg possess more novelty than those on Ibsen, of course, but the latter essay is a better example of presentation. Ibsen's fundamental ideas lend themselves more readily to detached statement and analysis than do Strind-

berg's; all the more reason for doing Strindberg the service done to Ibsen. The essay on Oscar Wilde is clear and temperate; that on Maeterlinck sympathetic, although the essayist misses the point, in large part, of the ingenious and delightful self-satire in *Ardiane et Barbe Bleu*. The brief concluding essay on Granville Barker is excellent. The whole book indicates thought that lacks a little of maturity, quick perception not tested with enough revising keenness, and enthusiasm for the strong and the fine that is laudable indeed.

MARTIN W. SAMPSON.

Cornell University.

THE KING'S COUNCIL IN ENGLAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES. By James Fosdick Baldwin. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1913,—xv, 559 pp.

This noteworthy volume is the result of painstaking research, which has occupied the vacations of its author for the past ten years. By these labors he has rendered a much needed service to students of English constitutional history. Professor Baldwin has undertaken to trace the history of the council from its inception under the Norman and Angevin kings to the emergence of the Privy Council under the Tudors. Manifestly he was unable to follow the "history of the *curia* in all its wide and general bearings" (p. 5). He has, therefore, contented himself with describing the manner in which the various law courts and the earlier executive departments were differentiated from the council, without attempting to trace their subsequent development. Naturally he has given little space to parliament after additions from without the council were made to the legislature. Professor Baldwin agrees with the view held by most recent historians "that the king's council was never a specially created institution, and at no time during the middle ages did it lose its original character as a single controlling organ in the state (p. 209). The merit of his book lies in the fact that he has worked out in detail the manner of the divergence from the council of the various executive and judicial institutions that naturally arose to meet the needs of a society that was becoming more varied in its interests and more com-

plex in its organization. This task was obviously beset with difficulty, since the mediæval ruling classes seldom made conscious attempts to organize the governmental machine so as to adapt it to existing needs. And when separate organizations began to emerge the men who composed them usually retained their places as members of the council. For these reasons it is never possible to fix a definite point of beginning for the separate organization of the various executive and judicial branches of the mediæval English government. And in many cases the council retained a nominal jurisdiction long after the special functions had been assigned to separate organizations.

The book includes illuminating chapters on "The Jurisdiction of the Council," "The Antiquities of the Council," "The Records of the Council," and "The Councillors in Relation to the King and to One Another." At the end of the volume are four appendices. The first three contain reprints of various documents relating to the history of the council in the period from the reign of Edward I to that of Henry VI. The fourth appendix contains a critical and descriptive bibliography of the sources and authorities which the author has used. The book also includes ten facsimiles of typical documents illustrating the history of the council.

Professor Baldwin's work will probably for some time to come be the standard authority on the phase of English constitutional history with which he has dealt. Specialists may find in it now details which deserve criticism, and students will doubtless correct other details in the future. But Professor Baldwin has blazed a way which no subsequent student of the history of the council can afford to ignore and has, therefore, rendered a permanent service to students of English constitutional history. One cannot help wishing, however, that the author had been able to present his conclusions in a somewhat more attractive style. His expression is too often indirect, and his sentences are frequently clumsy. It is to be regretted that a book which has such solid merits and which must be widely used could not have been made more readable.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

THE ENGLISH LYRIC. By Felix E. Schelling. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913,—335 pp.

Professor Schelling's treatment of the lyric is the latest addition to "The Types of English Literature," under the general editorship of Professor William A. Neilson. It is high praise to say that it conforms to the standard already established by this series of studies. Professor Schelling's book is both scholarly and entertaining; it appeals, therefore, to the general reader as well as to the specialist.

What appears to be the chief fault of the study is probably to be ascribed wholly to the nature of the subject. The author has a more difficult task than most of his colleagues have had; he is dealing with a class of literature which has never been satisfactorily defined, and which is obviously very elusive of accurate definition. Every reader thinks of certain individual poems as lyrical, and every reader has in mind a few vaguely defined qualities which he expects to find embodied in a so-called lyric. There is serious difficulty, however, in framing a definition of *lyric* which will serve as a criterion for the practical purpose of selection and differentiation. This difficulty Professor Schelling is at no pains to conceal. The gist of his definition is as follows: "The primary conception involved in the term 'lyric' has always to do with song; and it is the song-like quality of the lyric that falls most conspicuously into contrast with the epic or telling quality of narrative verse . . . In the lyric the individual singer, emerges conspicuous in the potency of his art . . . With the lyric subjective poetry begins." To provide for the inclusion of dramatic lyrics Professor Schelling adds that "a poet may succeed at times in projecting his personality—so to speak—into the person of another and speak and feel unerringly as that person speaks and feels. This power . . . is usually called dramatic instinct; but in so far as it is poetic it is really lyrical, that is, wholly subjective." This definition, which lays stress on the "song-like quality" and subjectivity succeeds as well apparently as other recent definitions of the lyric, offered by Professor E. B. Reed and Mr. Ernest Rhys, each of whom has brought out a book on the English lyric. But Professor Schelling's definition is hazy; he himself finds it unreliable in crucial moments. He, therefore,

refers to some poems dubiously if not apologetically. This lack of assurance becomes less noticeable after he reaches the period of the Renaissance, when the lyric emerges as a recognizable independent form. As late, however, as the Victorian period he is still occasionally beset with doubt; in the case of Tennyson "we are confronted with the increasing difficulty of preserving a clear line of demarcation" (p. 197). Such candor is preferable to inflexible dogmatism; but it leads to the conclusion that exact definition and classification are still a desideratum.

The elasticity of definition compels the author to include most of the writers of English verse, whom he discusses chronologically. *The English Lyric* becomes, therefore, a series of appreciative essays. In characterizing individual poets and the various movements in the development of English poetry, Professor Schelling exhibits an enviable critical judgment, an excellent sense of proportion, and an uncommon faculty of accurate, vigorous expression. Even when dealing with topics that have become hackneyed from frequent treatment he manages to impart the effect of newness. There is hardly a period in the history of English poetry upon which these brief, brilliant characterizations do not throw new light.

C. A. MOORE.

VIRGINIA UNDER THE STUARTS, 1607-1688. By Thomas J. Wertenbaker. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. 1914. Pp. xi, 271.

The historiography of colonial Virginia is never concluded. The disclosure of new documents and letters, the reprinting of legislative documents, and new editions of rare tracts and books have come to be matters of routine rather than of novelty. During the past generation long cherished traditions concerning Jamestown have been swept away and conceptions of industrial and social life have been greatly altered. Everyone who has made acquaintance with the voluminous literature relating to these matters must have noted the absence of a reliable narrative of political history based on the new as well as the older sources. This gap has been filled by Mr. Wertenbaker; he has written a clear, concise, political history of Virginia from 1607 to 1688. The centre of interest is always the

events in the colony rather than its relations with the English government or its institutional development.

The distinctive feature of the book is the use of sources. The first two chapters which bring the narrative to the dissolution of the London Company, are based almost entirely on the works of Alexander Brown and Arber's edition of John Smith. In chapter III, which is devoted to the administration of Harvey, considerable use is made of manuscripts in the British Public Record Office. In chapter IV, "Governor Berkeley and the Commonwealth," the drift is back to published sources, notably Hening's Statutes. Finally, in Chapter V, which considers Bacon's Rebellion, the sources most used are again manuscript records in English, and they are also the basis for the remaining three chapters of the book. Thus is achieved a paradox, almost a heresy among contemporary writings on American colonial history, a book limited strictly to events within a colony whose sources are mainly manuscript in English archives. So unique an achievement must be commended, especially as the narrative is readable as well as authoritative. The appreciative reader will close the volume with a desire for a similar study of political conditions in the colony during the eighteenth century.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

A HISTORY OF MUHLENBERG COUNTY, KENTUCKY. By Otto A. Rothert, Louisville, John P. Morton & Co., 1913,—xvii, 496 pp.

For a number of reasons Mr. Rothert's work deserves commendation. The removal of the Durett collection from Louisville to Chicago last year was a great blow to the study of local history in Kentucky; but this volume is evidence that the cause still has possibilities within the state, and that it survives adversity. Legends and traditions of the people, genealogical data, remains, county and state archives still exist and can never be transferred,—and among these Mr. Rothert has found his sources. The author's style is superior to that of the average local historian, and the mechanical work of the publishers is attractive and well done.

There are, however, serious limitations to the book. These are best summarized in the introduction. "The records of the

county and circuit courts from the beginning have been preserved in the court house at Greenville, and in all probability will always be preserved. I have therefore made no attempt to write a history based principally on these ever-available records, but have confined my work as much as possible to collecting the now vanishing traditions and to presenting the less available material." Now there is need for the investigation of local history in Kentucky and elsewhere based on these records as much as traditions—for surveys of economic development, social and religious conditions, political parties, transportation, and government which will correlate the past and the present. For instance, one wonders what light the court records might give on slavery and its incidents in Muhlenberg, where the anti-slavery sentiment was strong; what the records might tell of early industry such as mills and manufactures, and of the customs and manners of the people. Moreover in Mr. Rothert's work there is no chapter upon political parties and campaigns, although the county gave to the nation one leader of national reputation, Simon Bolivar Buckner. The volume is therefore a contribution to the history of Muhlenberg County rather than a well rounded work.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

GEORGE HAMILTON PERKINS, COMMODORE, U. S. N. HIS LIFE AND LETTERS. By Carroll Storrs Alden. With illustrations. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914—xii, 302 pp. \$1.50 net.

The career of Commodore Perkins was unusually venturesome and picturesque. He served with Admiral Farragut in some of the most notable engagements of the Civil War. In the battle of Mobile Bay he played a most conspicuous part as commander of the monitor "Chickasaw." His courage was also tested at the taking of New Orleans. After the war Commodore Perkins held important commands in the United States and cruised extensively in the Far East. Throughout his naval service he had the habit of writing frequent letters home in which he relates in a spontaneous and straightforward way the events of war and the adventures of travel. Dr. Alden, his

biographer, gives us generous extracts from these letters, and has constructed from this and general historical material a most readable narrative of the life of a gallant officer and gentleman. The volume is provided with a number of appropriate illustrations.

MEMOIRS OF LI HUNG CHANG. Edited by William Francis Mannix. With an Introduction by Hon. John W. Foster. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913,—xxvii, 298 pp. \$3.00 net.

ANNALS AND MEMOIRS OF THE COURT OF PEKING. FROM THE 16TH TO THE 20TH CENTURY. By E. Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914,—x, 531 pp. \$4.00 net.

China in transition has of late become China in confusion. The leaven of Western ideas working in Oriental minds has caused a great ferment but as yet has resulted in no sound and wholesome product. The Chinese Republic, received with optimism and good will into the family of nations, has disappointed the hopes of its friends and sunk into chaos and disruption. The volumes under review bring much light to one who would understand what has happened.

The more readable volume of the two is the "Memoirs of Li Hung Chang." He was the greatest Chinaman of modern times, distinguished as a man of letters, a soldier, a statesman, and a diplomat. Throughout most of his long lifetime he played a great part in the relations of China with Europe and America. His diary is interesting in its revelation of the broadening effect upon a superior Oriental mind of contact with foreigners in China and in their own countries. From suspicion and dislike he grew to a large measure of admiration and appreciation. Yet he remained none the less an Oriental. The many expressions in the memoirs of his views and personality are hardly second in interest to the account of China's foreign relations.

The "Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking" is a presentation of Chinese records of high value and significance from the time of the rise of the Manchu power about the middle of the sixteenth century down to the present. If one asks why the Chinese Republic has failed, here is an illuminating

answer. This record of the intrigue, corruption, brutality, and debauchery of the Manchu court, this revelation of Oriental psychology, make clear the underlying causes of the failure of Western constitutional government among the former subjects of the Dragon Throne.

W. H. G.

NOTES AND NEWS

The Houghton Mifflin Company have just published "Confederate Portraits," by Gamaliel Bradford, Jr. The men studied in this volume are Johnston, Stuart, Longstreet, Beauregard, Benjamin, Stephens, Toombs, and Semmes. Readers of "Lee the American" will welcome this new work by the brilliant Massachusetts essayist and biographer. It will be reviewed in a later number of the QUARTERLY. \$2.50 net.

Henry Holt and Company have begun the publication of a quarterly journal called the *Unpopular Review*. Its articles appear unsigned. The new journal presents positive views vigorously and entertainingly. It makes a specialty of attacking and exposing what it considers vulnerable beliefs and institutions. Many distinguished contributors are announced, and the public may be informed as to the names of writers in the issue following the appearance of their articles.

The *Nation* of March 12th announced the retirement from its editorship of Mr. Paul Elmer More. He will continue as advisory editor. Mr. More has been succeeded as editor by Mr. Harold deWolf Fuller, who has since 1910 been the assistant editor. In the future the *Nation* plans to broaden its appeal

to readers by giving more extended treatment to such fields as foreign correspondence, the drama, contemporary poetry, the non-competitive sports, and the progress of science. The many admirers of this standard journal will observe the development of the new policy with keen interest.

The United States Senate has recently published as a public document a report on "Government Ownership of Electrical Means of Communication." This report was prepared under the direction of Postmaster General Burleson by First Assistant Postmaster General Daniel C. Roper, M. O. Chance, and J. C. Coombs of the Postoffice Department. It presents the result of an investigation of government ownership of the telegraph and telephone in a large number of foreign countries. The report has been the subject of much public discussion.

The Harvard University Press has recently published "The History of the Grain Trade in France, 1410-1700" by Dr. Abbott Payson Usher, Instructor in Economics in Cornell University. The book is a significant study of the first steps in the evolution of trade from limited local markets to a wholesale marketing of the world's staple commodities. The story of the French grain trade during the period treated shows a growth of wholesale market organization, with an accompanying development of national and local policies in regulation of this trade that makes it an illuminating chapter in the larger history of European commerce and trade.

An out-of-the-ordinary book published by Doubleday, Page and Co. is "Crowds" by Gerald Stanley Lee. Mr. Lee calls his work a moving picture of democracy. The volume is having a large sale. Mr. Lee makes an effort to give form to an ideal which he thinks will rescue humanity from the products of too much gregariousness. His book is divided into five sections entitled: "Crowds and Machines," "Letting the Crowd Be Good," "Letting the Crowd be Beautiful," "Crowds and Heroes," "Good News and Hard Work." \$1.35 net.

